THE LETTERS OF Marcus Tullius Cicero TO Several of his FRIENDS:

With REMARKS

By WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq;

——————— Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. HOR.

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LETTERS

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

LETTERS
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero
TO
Several of his FRIENDS.

BOOK VI.

LETTER I.

To Appius Pulchér.

WHEN I first received an account of the ill-judged prosecution which has been commenced against you [1], it gave me great concern: and indeed nothing could possibly have happened that I less expected. But as soon as I had recovered from my surprise, I was well satisfied that you will easily disappoint the malice of your enemies: for I have the highest confidence in your own judicious conduct on A.U. 703.

[1] See rem. 4. p. 437. vol. 1.

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A.U. 703. this occaſion, as well as a very great one in that of your friends. I ſee many reaſons indeed to believe, that the envy of your adverſaries will only brighten that character they mean to ſully: tho' I cannot but regret, that they ſhould have thus ſnatched from you an honour you ſo juſtly merit, and of which you had ſo well-grounded an aſſurance; the honour, I mean, of a triumph [2]. However, you will ſhew your judgment, if you ſhould conſider this pompous diſtinction in the light it has ever appeared to my own view; and at the ſame time enjoy a triumph of the completeſt kind in the confuſion and diſappointment of your enemies: as I am well convinced that the vigorous and prudent exertion of your power and influence, will give them abundant reaſon to repent of their violent proceedings. As for myſelf, be well aſſured (and I call every god to witneſs the ſincerity of what I promiſe) that I will exert my utmoſt intereſt in ſupport, I will not ſay of your perſon, which I hope is in no danger, but of your dignities and honour. To this end, I ſhall employ my beſt good offices for you in this province, where you once preſided; and employ them with all the warmth of an interceſſor, with all the aſſiduity of a relation, with all the influence of a man who, I truſt, is dear to theſe cities, and with all the authority of one who is

[2] See rem. 3. p. 371. vol. 1.

inveſted

inveſted with the ſupreme command. In a word, A.U. 703.
I hope you will both aſk and expect of me, every ſervice in my power: and believe me, I ſhall give you greater proofs of my affection than you are diſpoſed, perhaps, to imagine. Notwithſtanding therefore that the letter I received from you by the hands of Quintus Servilius was extremely ſhort, yet I could not but think it much too long: for it was doing an injury to the ſentiments of my heart, to ſuppoſe you had any occaſion to ſollicit my aſſiſtance. I am ſorry you ſhould have an opportunity of experiencing, by an incident ſo little agreeable to you, the rank you bear in my affection, the eſteem which I entertain for Pompey, whom I juſtly value indeed above all men, and the meaſure of my unfeigned regard for Brutus: circumſtances, I ſhould hope, of which our daily intercourſe had rendered you ſufficiently ſenſible. However, ſince it has ſo happened, I ſhould think that I acted a moſt unworthy, not to ſay a criminal part, if I were to omit any article wherein my ſervices can avail you.

Pontinius remembers the ſingular inſtances of friendſhip he has received from you, and of which I myſelf was a witneſs [3], with all the gratitude

[3] Pontinius was prætor in the conſulate of Cicero, and at this time one of his lieutenants in the province. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the affair of Catiline: and having quelled the inſurrection of the Allobroges, who took up arms on that

A.U. 703. and affection to which you have ſo undoubted a right. The urgency of his affairs had obliged him, tho' with great reluctance, to leave me. Nevertheleſs, having been informed juſt as he was going to embark at Epheſus, that his preſence in this province might be of advantage to your cauſe [4], he immediately returned back to Laodicea. I am perſuaded you will meet with numberleſs ſuch inſtances of zeal upon this occaſion: can I doubt then that this troubleſome affair will prove, in the concluſion, greatly to your credit?

If you ſhould be able to bring on an election of cenſors [5], and ſhould exerciſe that office in the manner you certainly ought, and for which you

occaſion, he demanded a triumph. But he met with ſo ſtrong an oppoſition to this claim, and particularly from Cato, that it was four years before his petition was granted. Appius was at that time conſul; by whoſe intereſt it chiefly was, that Pontinius at length ſucceeded: and it is to this circumſtance that Cicero ſeems to allude. *Liv. Epit.* 103. *Dio.* xl. *Ad At.* iv. 16.

[4] See rem. 6. p. 437. vol. 1.

[5] The office of cenſor was the moſt honourable poſt in the Roman republic; tho' its authority was not ſo conſiderable as that of the conſul. The two principal branches of his duty conſiſted, in taking a general ſurvey of the people in order to range them in their proper claſſes; and in watching over the public manners. Appius together with Piſo, whoſe daughter Cæſar had married, were choſen cenſors ſoon after the date of this letter: and they were the laſt (as Dr. Middleton obſerves) "who bore that office during the freedom "of the republic:" if the republic indeed could with any propriety be ſaid to have enjoyed freedom at this period, when all was faction and miſrule. *Roſin. de Antiq. Rom.* 699. *Life of Tully*, ii. 210. 8*vo. ed.* See rem. 4. and the Paſſage to which it refers, p. 68. of this vol.

are

are ſo perfectly well qualified; you can never A.U.703.
want that authority in the republic, which will afford at once a protection both to yourſelf and your friends. Let me intreat therefore your moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to prevent my adminiſtration from being prolonged: that after having filled up the meaſure of my affectionate ſervices to you here, I may have the ſatisfaction alſo of preſenting them to you at Rome.

I read with pleaſure, tho' by no means with ſurpriſe, the account you gave me of that general zeal which all orders and degrees of men have ſhewn in your cauſe: a circumſtance, of which I had likewiſe been informed by my other friends. It affords me great ſatisfaction to find, that a man with whom I have the honour and pleaſure to be ſo intimately united, is thus diſtinguiſhed with that univerſal approbation he juſtly deſerves. But I rejoice in this upon another conſideration likewiſe; as it is a proof that there ſtill remains a general diſpoſition in Rome to ſupport the cauſe of illuſtrious merit: a diſpoſition which I have myſelf alſo experienced upon every occaſion, as the honourable recompence of my pains and vigils in the public ſervice. But I am aſtoniſhed that Dolabella, a young man whom I formerly reſcued with the utmoſt difficulty from the conſequences of two capital impeachments, ſhould ſo ungratefully forget the patron to whom he owes

A.U. 703. all that he enjoys, as to be the author of this ill-conſidered proſecution of my friend. And what aggravates the folly of his conduct is, that he ſhould thus venture to attack a man who is diſtinguiſhed with the higheſt honours, and ſupported by the moſt powerful friendſhips; at the ſame time that he himſelf (to ſpeak of him in the ſofteſt terms) is greatly deficient in both theſe reſpects. I had received an account from our friend Cœlius before your letter reached my hand, of the idle and ridiculous report he has propagated; and on which you ſo largely expatiate. There is ſo little ground however for what he aſſerts, that be aſſured I would much ſooner break off all former friendſhip with a man who had thus declared himſelf your enemy, than be prevailed upon to engage with him in any new connections [6].

[6] Nothing could be more diſtant from Cicero's heart than what he here pretends. For there is the ſtrongeſt evidence to believe, that it was his fixed intention, at this very time, to enter into an alliance with Dolabella: and in fact, Tullia was married to him ſoon after the date of this letter. Cicero affirms, I muſt acknowledge, in an epiſtle to Atticus, what he likewiſe aſſerts in a ſubſequent one to Appius, "that this "tranſaction was entirely without his knowledge:" but he ſeems to have dealt as inſincerely upon this occaſion with his boſom friend, as he too frequently did with all the world beſide. Accordingly, he aſſures Atticus, he ſo little expected the news of his daughter's match, that he was actually in treaty for the diſpoſal of her to another perſon. But if the latter part of this aſſertion were true, it aggravates his diſſimulation: for the former moſt evidently was not. For not to mention the great probability there is, that he left a commiſſion with Cœlius when he ſet out for the province, relat-

You

You have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of my zeal to ſerve you: of which I have given many conſpicuous teſtimonies in this province, as well as at Rome. Your letter nevertheleſs intimates ſome ſort of ſuſpicion of the contrary. It would be improper at this juncture to reproach you with A.U. 703.

ing to the marriage in queſtion, [ſee let. 5. p. 437. vol. 1.] it appears that he had received more than one letter from him upon this ſubject before he wrote the laſt mentioned to Atticus: and conſequently that he could not have been ſo much a ſtranger to the affair as he choſe to repreſent himſelf. For Cicero's anſwer to the letter of Cœlius concerning this treaty with Dolabella, is extant; and it cannot be dated later than the beginning of May in the preſent year; becauſe he mentions the ſeventh of that month as a future day, on which he propoſed to return from another part of his province, into Cilicia. But the letter to Atticus muſt have been written in the latter end of the ſame year, becauſe he takes notice in it of the death of Hortenſius. Now he was not informed of that event till he came to Rhodes, in his voyage from Cilicia: as he himſelf tells us, in the introduction of his oratorical treatiſe inſcribed to Brutus. If Cicero then was capable of thus diſguiſing the truth concerning Dolabella, to the neareſt and moſt valuable of his friends; it is no wonder he ſhould not ſcruple to act a ſtill more counterfeit part in all that he ſays of him to Appius. And this diſſimulation he very freely acknowledges to Cœlius; who indeed was in the whole ſecret of the affair: as it was by his intervention that it ſeems to have been principally conducted. Accordingly, Cicero taking notice to Cœlius of the letter now before us, which he tells him was written in conſequence of the information he had received from him, in the 5th of the foregoing book; he expreſſes himſelf in the following remarkable words: *Quid ſi meam* (ſc. epiſtolam) *legas, quam ego tum ex tuis literis miſi ad Appium? ſed quid agas? ſic vivitur*: which in plain Engliſh amounts to this, that if a man would be well with the world, he muſt ſubmit to the loweſt and moſt contemptible hypocriſy. And it muſt be owned that Cicero in the preſent inſtance, as well as in moſt others, acted up to the full extent of his maxim. *Ad At.* vi. 6. *Ep. Fam.* viii. 6. *De clar. orator.* 1. *Ep. Fam.* ii. 15.

A.U. 703. indulging ſo injurious a thought; but it is neceſſary I ſhould convince you, that it is altogether without foundation. Tell me then, wherein did I obſtruct the deputation which was intended to be ſent to Rome with the complimental addreſſes to you of this province? Had I been your avowed enemy, I could not have indulged my ſpleen by a more impotent piece of malice: and moſt certainly if I had meant to act with a diſguiſed malevolence, I could not have choſen an occaſion that would have rendered my ſentiments more notorious. Were I as perfidious as the authors of theſe unjuſt inſinuations; yet ſurely I ſhould not have been ſo weak either to diſcover my enmity where I deſigned to conceal it, or to ſhew a ſtrong inclination of injuring you by inſtances utterly ineffectual. I remember, indeed, that ſome complaints were made to me, concerning the exceſſive appointments allowed to the deputies from this province. In anſwer to which, I rather adviſed than directed that all expences of this kind ſhould be regulated by the Cornelian law [7]. But far was I from inſiſting even upon this: as may appear by the public records of the ſeveral cities. For when they afterwards paſſed their accounts before me,

[7] This law was enacted, it is probable, in order to reſtrain the immoderate ſums which were expended in theſe complimental deputations. *Manutius.*

I ſuf-

I ſuffered them to charge to the article of their deputations, whatever ſum they thought proper. Yet what falſhoods have not theſe worthleſs informers impoſed upon you? They have affirmed, it ſeems, not only that I abſolutely prohibited all expences of this kind, but even obliged the agents of thoſe deputies who were actually ſet forward in their way to Rome, to refund the appointments that were lodged in their hands: and by theſe means diſcouraged ſeveral others from undertaking the ſame commiſſion. I might here with great juſtice complain of your giving credit to theſe calumnies: but I forbear, as I ſaid before, in tenderneſs to your preſent diſquietude; thinking it more proper at this ſeaſon to vindicate my own conduct, than to reproach yours. I will only therefore remind you of a few reaſons that ought to have ſecured me againſt ſuffering in your opinion from theſe groundleſs imputations. If ever then you experienced the probity of my heart, or obſerved a diſpoſition in me worthy of thoſe ſublime contemplations to which I have devoted myſelf from my earlieſt youth; if ever you diſcovered by my conduct in the moſt important tranſactions, that I was neither void of ſpirit, nor deſtitute of abilities; you ought to have believed me incapable of acting a low and little part towards my friends, much more a baſe and a treacherous one. But if artifice be the character A.U. 703.

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A.U. 703. after all, in which I muſt needs be repreſented; could any thing, let me aſk, be leſs conſiſtent with ſuch a temper, than either to ſlight the friendſhip of a man of your high rank and credit; or to oppoſe your glory in an obſcure and remote province, after having openly ſupported it in view of the whole world at Rome? Can any thing have leſs the appearance of artifice than to diſcover an impotent malevolence, and betray to very little purpoſe a ſtrong propenſity of doing an injury. But what poſſible motive could induce me to cheriſh ſo implacable a ſpirit toward you, who was far from ſhewing yourſelf my enemy (and I ſpeak it upon the information of my own brother) even at a time when you were almoſt under an indiſpenſable obligation of appearing ſo [8]? And after our reconciliation had been effected agreeably to our mutual deſires for that purpoſe, did you once throughout the whole period of your conſulate, make a ſingle requeſt to me in vain? Or which of the commands that you left with me when I attended you to Puteolæ [9], did I not execute with a zeal and aſſiduity

[8] This alludes to the ſervices which Cicero received from Appius in his recall from baniſhment. "For Appius (as Mr. Roſs obſerves) "was at that time prætor: and tho' he at "firſt ſupported his brother Clodius, and oppoſed the re-"peal of his law; yet he afterwards deſerted him, and "joined with the friends of Cicero." *Cic. pro Rom.* 33.

[9] A maritime city in Campania in the kingdom of Naples, now called Pozzuoli. When the proconſuls ſet out for their

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even beyond your expectations? But were I really the artful man I am repreſented, and if it be the characteriſtic of that diſpoſition to act entirely with a view to intereſt; nothing ſurely could be more conducive to mine, than the friendſhip of one from whoſe rank and abilities, from whoſe power, family and alliances, I might hope to derive the higheſt honours and advantages: conſiderations, I will own, that rendered me ambitious of your friendſhip, not from any low unworthy cunning, but from thoſe principles of prudence which wiſdom will ſurely juſtify. But theſe were not the only conſiderations that attached me to your intereſt. I was drawn by others of an higher and more prevailing influence with me: by a ſimilitude of taſte and ſtudies, by the pleaſing habitudes of familiar intercourſe, and by the ſame common reſearches into the moſt concealed and unfrequented paths of philoſophy. To theſe inducements of a private kind, I may add thoſe of a more popular and public nature. For after having rendered our mutual reconcilement conſpicuous to the whole world; I could not even undeſignedly act counter to your intereſt, without incurring a ſuſpicion of my ſincerity. Let me mention alſo thoſe obligations which reſult from my being A.U. 703.

governments, they were uſually eſcorted by their friends to ſome diſtance from Rome.

A.U. 703. aſſociated with you in the college of augurs: obligations which our anceſtors eſteemed of ſo ſacred a nature, that they not only held it impious to violate them, but would not even ſuffer a candidate to be elected into this ſociety, who was known to be at variance with any of its members. But abſtractedly from theſe numerous and powerful motives, there is *one*, which of itſelf might be ſufficient to evince the diſpoſition in which I ſtand towards you. For tell me, did ever any man poſſeſs, or had reaſon to poſſeſs, ſo high an eſteem for another, as that which you know I entertain for the illuſtrious [10] father-in-law of your daughter? If perſonal obligations, indeed, can give him a title to theſe ſentiments; do I not owe to Pompey the enjoyment of my country, my family, my dignities, and even my very ſelf[a]? If friendſhip may be ſuppoſed to have any effect;

[10] Pompey.

[a] Cicero by no means thought himſelf ſo much obliged to Pompey as he here pretends: and all theſe extravagant profeſſions were a mere artifice (and a thin one it muſt be owned) to make Pompey believe that he had forgotten the ill uſage he had formerly received from him. *Vid. ad Att.* ix. 13. The truth of it is, Cicero had juſt the ſame ſort of obligation to Pompey for the enjoyments he mentions, as he would have had to a highwayman, who after having taken his purſe ſhould have reſtored it again. For if Pompey had not acted a treacherous and diſhoneſt part in the affair of Clodius, to which our author here alludes, Cicero would never have been deprived of his *country, his family, and his dignities*. But if Pompey reſtored him to *theſe*, he could not reſtore him to *himſelf*: for as the elegant Mongault in his remarks on the epiſtles to Atticus, juſtly obſerves, if he roſe after his fall, he always appeared however to be ſomewhat ſtunned by the blow.

is there an inſtance amongſt all our conſulars, of a more intimate union than his and mine? If confidence can create affection; what has he not committed to my care, or communicated to my ſecrecy? Whenever he was abſent from Rome, was there any other man whom he preferred to be the advocate of his intereſt in the ſenate? And what honour is there which he has not endeavoured to confer upon me, in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner? In fine, with how much temper did he ſuffer my zeal in the cauſe of Milo, notwithſtanding the latter had upon ſome occaſions joined in the oppoſition to his meaſures? And how generouſly did he protect me by his counſel, his authority, and even his arms, from the inſults and the dangers to which I expoſed myſelf in that [11] defence? A.U. 703.

[11] If Dion Caſſius may be credited in what he relates concerning the circumſtances which attended Milo's trial, Cicero had as little reaſon to acknowledge his obligations to Pompey in the preſent inſtance, as in that mentioned in the preceding remark. For Pompey being apprehenſive that Milo's party might attempt ſome violent meaſures in order to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, ſurrounded the court with his troops, which ſo intimidated Cicero, that it utterly diſconcerted his eloquence, and he made a very languid defence of his friend. Accordingly the oration which Cicero publiſhed, and which is ſtill extant, was not ſpoken, as Dion aſſures us, at the trial, but was the after-produce of his more compoſed thoughts. But whether the hiſtorian's aſſertion is to be corrected by Cicero, or Cicero's to be diſcredited by the hiſtorian, is a point I ſhall not venture to decide. Tho' I muſt in juſtice add, that Aſconius, a much earlier writer than Dion Caſſius, and one who was a greater admirer of Cicero, accounts in a different manner for the diſorder which ſeized the Roman orator upon this occaſion. For he aſcribes it to the clamours with which

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A.U. 703. And I cannot but here obſerve, that far from being diſpoſed, as you have ſhewn yourſelf in this affair of the deputies, to liſten to the little idle tales that might be propagated to my diſadvantage by any paltry provincial; he nobly ſcorned to give attention to the malicious reports, which were dealt about to my prejudice by the moſt conſiderable perſons in Rome [12]. Upon the whole then, as you are united, not only by alliance, but by affection, to my illuſtrious friend; what are the ſentiments, do you imagine, that I ought to bear towards you? The truth of it is, were I your profeſſed enemy, as I am moſt ſincerely the reverſe; yet after the letter which I lately received from Pompey, I ſhould think myſelf obliged to ſacrifice my reſentment to his requeſt, and be wholly governed by the inclinations of a man to whom I am thus greatly indebted. But I have ſaid enough, and perhaps more than was neceſſary, upon this ſubject: let me now therefore give you a detail both of what I have effected, and am ſtill attempting for your intereſt [13]. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

he was inſulted by the party againſt Milo, when he roſe up to ſpeak in his defence. *Dion.* xl. *p.* 145, 146. *Aſcon. argument. in Milon.*

[12] Milo was ſuſpected, or at leaſt his adverſaries pretended to ſuſpect him, of having a deſign againſt Pompey's life: and perhaps Cicero's enemies endeavoured to perſuade Pompey, that our author was privy to that deſign. *Orat. pro Milon.* 24.

[13] The particular inſtances of Cicero's ſervices to Ap-

This

This, my friend, is what I have performed, or A.U. 703.
am endeavouring to perform, in ſupport of your character, I will rather ſay, than in defence of your perſon. But I expect every day to hear that you are choſen cenſor: the duties of which office, as they require the higheſt fortitude and abilities to execute, ſo, I am ſure, they far better deſerve your attention than any ſervices I am capable of rendering to you in this province. Farewel.

LETTER II.

To PAPIRIUS PÆTUS[1].

YOUR letter has rendered me a moſt complete general. I proteſt I did not imagine you were ſo wonderfully ſkilled in the art military. But I perceive you are an abſolute adept, and deeply ſtudied in the tactics of king Pyrrhus[2] and his miniſter Cineas. I have ſome thoughts

pius are omitted in the original: and probably were ſo by the firſt editor of theſe letters, as not being thought proper, perhaps, for public inſpection.

[1] Lucius Papirius Pætus appears to have been a perſon of great wit and humour, and in cloſe friendſhip with Cicero. "He was an Epicurean: and in purſuance of the plan of "life recommended by the principles of that ſect, ſeems to "have ſacrificed his ambition to his eaſe. He had ſent "ſome military inſtructions by way of raillery to Cicero: "who returns an anſwer to this letter in the ſame jocoſe "manner." *Mr. Roſs.*

[2] Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who flouriſhed about 300 years before the date of this letter, was eſteemed by the antients as one of the greateſt ſoldiers that ever appeared in the world. His whole thoughts and application were turned

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A.U. 703. therefore of following your moſt curious precepts: and indeed of improving upon them. For as I am aſſured that the beſt armament againſt the Parthian cavalry, is a good fleet; I am deſigning to equip myſelf accordingly. Seriouſly, you cannot imagine what an expert commander you have undertaken to tutor: for after having worne out Xenophon's life of Cyrus with reading it at Rome, I have now fairly *practiſed it out* in the province——But I hope ſoon to joke with you in perſon. In the mean time, attend with ſubmiſſion due to my high beheſts. You are not ignorant, I ſuppoſe, of the particular intimacy that ſubſiſts between Marcus Fabius and myſelf. I value him indeed extremely, not only for the ſingular integrity and modeſty of his heart, but as he is a moſt excellent ſecond to me in thoſe conteſts wherein I am ſometimes engaged with certain jovial Epicurean companions of yours. He lately joined me at Laodicea; where I am very deſirous of detaining him: but he received an unexpected letter, which has given him great uneaſineſs. The purport of it is, that his brother has advertiſed his intentions of ſelling an

to the art of war: upon which ſubject he publiſhed ſome treatiſes, that were extant in Plutarch's time. Cineas was one of the generals who commanded under this heroic prince: and who, as it ſhould ſeem from this paſſage, had likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military writings. *Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi.*

eſtate

eſtate at Herculaneum [3], in which they are both equally intereſted. This news exceedingly alarms my friend: and as his brother's underſtanding is not extremely ſtrong, he is inclined to think he has been inſtigated by ſome of their common enemies to take this very extraordinary meaſure. Let me then intreat you, my dear Pætus, if you have any friendſhip for me, to eaſe Fabius of the trouble of this affair, by receiving the whole burthen of it upon yourſelf. We ſhall have occaſion for your authority, your advice, and your intereſt: and I hope you will exert them all, in order to prevent theſe two brothers from the diſgrace of appearing as adverſaries in a court of juſtice. I muſt not forget to tell you, that the perſons whom Fabius ſuſpects to be the malicious authors of this advice to his brother, are Mato and Pollio. To ſay all in one word, I ſhall think myſelf inexpreſſibly obliged, if you eaſe my friend of this troubleſome affair: a favour, he perſuades me, entirely in your power. Farewel. A.U. 703.

[3] The famous city near Naples, which was ſwallowed up by an earthquake in the reign of Veſpaſian: and which is now furniſhing the literary world with ſo many invaluable treaſures of antiquity.

LETTER III.

To COELIUS CALDUS [4], Quæſtor elect.

A.U. 703. WHEN I received the very acceptable news of your being elected my quæſtor, I was well perſuaded that the longer you continued with me in this province, the more I ſhould have occaſion to be ſatisfied with that choice. It is of importance to the public relation which has thus ariſen between us, that it ſhould be improved by a nearer intercourſe. But having received no account either from yourſelf or any other of my friends of your being ſet forward on your way hither, I began to be apprehenſive (what I ſtill fear) that I ſhould leave this province before your arrival. I was favoured, 'tis true, with a moſt obliging and polite letter from you, on the 22d of June, whilſt I was encamped in Cilicia: and it afforded me a very pleaſing inſtance both

[4] He was a young man of a noble family: and this ſeems to have been the whole of his merit. For notwithſtanding Cicero addreſſes him in this letter, as one of whoſe talents and virtues he had conceived a favourable opinion: it is certain his real ſentiments of him were far different. This appears from an epiſtle to Atticus; where both the morals and underſtanding of Caldus are mentioned in terms greatly to his diſadvantage. *Nos provinciæ præficimus Coelium: puerum inquies, & fortaſſe fatuum, & non gravem, & non continentem. Aſſentior: fieri non potuit aliter.* Ad At. vi. 6. See the 13th letter of this book.

of

of your abilities and friendly diſpoſition. But it A.U. 703.
was without any date: nor did it mention when I might expect you. The perſon likewiſe that delivered it, not having received it immediately from your own hands, could give me no information either when, or from what place it was written. Nevertheleſs I thought proper to diſpatch my couriers and lictors with this expreſs: and if it reaches you time enough, you will greatly oblige me by meeting me in Cilicia as ſoon as poſſible.

The ſtrong letters I received in your behalf from your relations Curius and Virgilius, had all the influence which is due to the recommendations of ſuch very intimate and very worthy friends: but your own letter had ſtill a greater. Believe me, there is no man whom I ſhould have rather wiſhed for my quæſtor: and I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the world, by diſtinguiſhing you with every honour in my power, that I pay all the regard which is ſo juſtly due to your own perſonal merit, as well as to that of your illuſtrious anceſtors. But this I ſhall the more eaſily be enabled to effect, if you ſhould meet me in Cilicia: a circumſtance in which not only the public intereſt and mine, but particularly your own, is, I think, nearly concerned. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

To MARCUS COELIUS, Curule Ædile.

A.U. 703. I Am extremely anxious concerning affairs at Rome: as I hear there have been great diſturbances in the general aſſemblies of the people [5]; and that the feſtival of Minerva [6] was celebrated in a moſt riotous manner. But my intelligence goes no lower than that period: and I am altogether uninformed of any thing which has ſince paſſed. Yet nothing mortifies me more than being prevented the pleaſure of laughing with you at ſeveral ridiculous incidents which attended, I am told, theſe public tumults: but they are of ſuch a delicate nature, that I dare not mention them in a letter. I am a good deal uneaſy likewiſe at not having received any account of theſe commotions from yourſelf. For which reaſon, notwithſtanding I ſhall be ſet out for Italy before this reaches your hand; yet I

[5] Manutius conjectures that this alludes to the diſturbances which ſome of the tribunes occaſioned at Rome, in oppoſing the attempts of the Pompeian party to diveſt Cæſar of his government in Gaul. At the head of theſe tribunes, Curio, who had lately changed ſides, now choſe to diſtinguiſh himſelf. *Vid. Ad Att.* vi. 2.

[6] This feſtival was celebrated on the 19th of March: and continued five days.

hope

hope I ſhall meet a letter from you upon the road; that I may not arrive an utter ſtranger to the ſtate of public affairs: as I am ſure no man is more capable of inſtructing me concerning them than yourſelf. A.U. 703.

Your agent, the worthy Diogenes, together with your freed-man Philo [a], parted from me at Peſſinus [7], in order to proceed on their journey to the king of [8] Galatia: tho' with little hopes of ſucceeding at a court neither very able, nor very willing to comply with the purpoſes of their embaſſy.

Rome, my friend, Rome alone, is the object that merits your attention: and may you ever live within the ſplendour of that illuſtrious ſcene! All foreign employments (and it was my ſentiments from my firſt entrance into the world) are below the ambition of thoſe who have talents to diſtinguiſh themſelves on that more conſpicuous theatre. And would to God, as I was ever well convinced of this truth, that I had always acted accordingly! Be aſſured the pleaſure of a ſingle walk with you, would afford me more ſa-

[a] Coelius mentions theſe perſons in a former letter, as being employed by him to execute ſome commiſſion in this part of the world: but the nature of the buſineſs with which they were charged does not appear. *Vid. Ep. Fam.* viii. 8.

[7] A city in Phrygia, within the juriſdiction of Cicero's government.

[8] Deiotarus.

A. U. 705. tisfaction, than all the advantages I can derive from my government. I hope indeed, I ſhall receive the applauſe of having conducted myſelf throughout my adminiſtration, with an untainted integrity: however, I ſhould have merited as much honour by refuſing the government of this province, as by having thus preſerved it from the hands of our enemies. "But where "then," you will aſk perhaps, "had been the "hopes of a triumph?" Believe me, I ſhould have deemed that loſs well compenſated, by eſcaping ſo long and ſo tedious a ſeparation from all that I hold moſt valuable. But I hope I ſhall now ſoon be with you. In the mean time, let me meet a letter from you, worthy of your political penetration [9]. Farewel.

[9] In the original it is only ſaid, *mihi mitte epiſtolas te* dignas. But it ſeems evident what Cicero had in his thoughts, by a paſſage a little higher in this letter: *obviæ mihi velim ſint litteræ tuæ, quæ me erudiant de omni republica.* And our author frequently ſpeaks of Coelius as one of that ſort of diſcerning politicians who, in the language of Shakeſpear,

——can look into the ſeeds of time,
And ſay which grain will grow, and which will not.

Macbeth.

LET-

LETTER V.

To APPIUS PULCHER.

WHILST I lay encamped on the banks of the Pyramus [1], I received two letters from you, and both at the same time, which Quintus Servilius forwarded to me from Tarsus. One of them was dated on the 5th of April: but the other, which seemed to have been written later, was without any date. I will answer the former therefore in the first place, wherein you give me an account of your having been acquitted of the impeachment exhibited against you for male-administration in this province. I had before been apprised of many circumstances of this event by various letters and expresses, as well as by general report: as indeed there never was any occurrence more particularly known. Not that it was in the least unexpected; but because the world is usually very minute in its accounts of all that concerns the honour of so distinguished a character. But notwithstanding your letter was thus in some measure anticipated; yet it heightened my satisfaction to receive the same good news from your own hand. My information was by this mean not only more full than A.U. 703.

[1] A river in Cilicia.

A.U. 703. what I had learnt from common fame, but it brought you nearer to my imagination, and rendered you in ſome ſort preſent to thoſe ſentiments of joy which aroſe upon this occaſion in my heart. Accordingly I embraced you in my thoughts, and kiſſed the letter that gave me ſo much reaſon to rejoice, upon my own account as well as upon yours. I ſay upon my own account, becauſe I look upon thoſe honours which are thus paid by the general voice of my country, to virtue, induſtry, and genius, as paid to myſelf; being too much diſpoſed, perhaps, to imagine that theſe are qualities to which my own character is no ſtranger. But tho' I am by no means ſurpriſed that this trial ſhould have ended ſo much to your credit, yet I cannot forbear being aſtoniſhed at that mean and unworthy ſpirit which induced your enemies[a] to engage in this proſecution.

But you will tell me, perhaps, that I am premature in my congratulations: for while there is a charge ſtill ſubſiſting againſt you, what imports it, you will poſſibly aſk, of which impeachment you are firſt acquitted? And I muſt confeſs it is a point of no conſequence with reſpect to your character: for

[a] It may be unneceſſary perhaps to remind the reader, that this alludes to Dolabella: whoſe friendſhip and alliance Cicero was at this time courting.

you

you are not only perfectly innocent of both accuſations, but are ſo far from having committed any action injurious to the honour of the republic, that you have greatly contributed to raiſe and extend its glory [3]. However, there is this advantage gained by your preſent victory, that the principal difficulty of the whole conteſt is now over. For by the terms in which Sylla's law is drawn up concerning offences againſt the ſtate, and upon which your firſt proſecution was founded, it is eaſy for any man to give a colour to the moſt groundleſs charge. Whereas an information of bribery turns upon a fact in its own nature notorious; as no man can be guilty of this crime un- A.U. 703.

[3] Cicero himſelf will furniſh the moſt proper comment upon this paſſage. For in a letter to Atticus, written not many months before the preſent, he deſcribes the conduct of Appius in Cilicia, in terms which ſhew that he was far from being unjuſtly arraigned by Dolabella. He repreſents him as having ſpread deſolation thro' the province by fire and ſword; as having left nothing behind him which he could poſſibly carry away; and as having ſuffered his officers to commit all kinds of violences which luſt and avarice could ſuggeſt: "And "I am going, ſays he, this very morning to repeal ſeve-"ral of his iniquitous edicts." Appius, *cum ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως provinciam curarit, ſanguinem miſerit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, &c.——Quid dicam de illius præfectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis!——Eo ipſe die, quo hæc ante lucem ſcribebam, cogitabam ejus multa inique conſtituta & acta tollere.* It is pleaſant to obſerve upon ſome occaſions, the different colours in which the ſame character is painted by different hands: but one has not ſo frequently the opportunity of hearing the ſame conduct thus abuſed and thus applauded by the ſame man, and almoſt too in the ſame breath. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

obſerved

A.U. 703. obſerved by the public: and conſequently either the proſecutor, or the perſon accuſed, muſt evidently, and beyond all power of artifice, appear infamous. But who ever entertained even the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions of your having obtained the high dignities through which you have paſſed, by illegal methods? How do I regret that I could not be preſent at theſe proſecutions, that I might have expoſed them to all the ridicule they ſo juſtly deſerve!

You mentioned two circumſtances which attended your trial, that afforded me particular ſatisfaction. The one is, that general zeal which was expreſſed by the whole republic in your behalf: the other, that generous and friendly part which both Pompey and Brutus have acted towards you in this conjuncture. With regard to the firſt, it would undoubtedly have been the intereſt of the commonwealth, even in the moſt flouriſhing periods of heroic virtue, to have diſtinguiſhed a citizen of your exalted merit; but it is more eſpecially ſo in the preſent age, when there are ſo few of the ſame patriot character, to whom ſhe can look up for protection. And as to the latter, I ſincerely rejoice that your two relations, and my very particular friends, have thus warmly and zealouſly exerted themſelves in your cauſe. The truth of it is, I look upon Pompey

pey as the moſt conſiderable man that any age or nation has ever produced[4]: and Brutus, I am perſuaded, will ſoon riſe to the ſame honourable pre-eminence above his fellow-citizens in general, which now diſtinguiſhes him among our youth in particular. A.U. 703.

With regard to thoſe witneſſes who were ſuborned to give evidence againſt you; it ſhall be

[4] In the laſt remark I took occaſion to contraſt Cicero with himſelf, in reſpect to his ſentiments and his profeſſions of Appius: the preſent paſſage affords an opportunity of ſhewing him in the ſame oppoſition with regard to Pompey. The author then of this encomium has elſewhere ſaid of the hero of his preſent panegyric, that "he was artful and un-"genteel in his common intercourſe: and as to his political "conduct, that it was altogether void of every thing great "or diſintereſted, and utterly unworthy of a man who "meant well to the liberty of his country." *Nihil come, nihil ſimplex, nihil* εν τοις πολιτικοις *honeſtum, nihil illuſtre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* This character, 'tis true, was drawn ſeveral years before the date of the preſent letter: and different ſentiments of the ſame man, at different times, are perfectly reconcileable, no doubt, with truth and ſincerity. But there is extant a letter to Atticus written after this to Appius, and at the diſtance too of not many months, wherein Cicero expreſſes the ſame contemptible opinion of Pompey. *Ego hominem* απολιτικοτατον (ſays he) *omnium jam ante cognoram, nunc vero etiam* αστρατηγικωτατον. And in another ſtill more recent letter to Atticus he aſſerts, that Pompey's political conduct had been full of miſtakes during the laſt ten years: *Ut enim alia decem annorum peccata omittam*, &c. The truth of it is, Cicero ſeldom continues long in the ſame ſentiments, or at leaſt the ſame language, of Pompey: and if he raiſes a trophy to his fame in one letter, we may be almoſt ſure of ſeeing it reverſed in another. If our author's judgment and penetration were leſs unqueſtionable, theſe variations from himſelf might be imputed to a more favourable cauſe, than can now, perhaps, be reaſonably aſſigned. *Ad Att.* i. 13. viii. 16. vii. 13.

my

A.U. 703. my care when I paſs thro' Aſia, (if Flaccus has not already prevented me) to bring them to condign puniſhment. And now let me turn to your ſecond letter.

I received great pleaſure from the judicious ſketch you communicated to me of public affairs. It appears that the dangers of the commonwealth are much leſs conſiderable, as well as her reſources much more powerful than I imagined, ſince the principal ſtrength of Rome is united (as you inform me) under Pompey. It afforded me much ſatisfaction at the ſame time, to remark that ſpirit of patriotiſm which animates your letter: and I am infinitely obliged to you likewiſe, that you ſhould ſuſpend your own more important occupations, in order to teach me what judgment to form of our political ſituation. As to your treatiſe upon augury [a]; I beg you would reſerve it to a ſeaſon when we ſhall both of us be more diſengaged. When I reminded you of that deſign, I imagined you were wholly unemployed, and waiting in the ſuburbs of Rome, the determination of your petition [b]. But I ſhall now expect your [c] orations in its ſtead;

[a] See vol. 1. p. 279. l. 1. & note 1. & p. 460. l. 1.

[b] For a triumph.

[c] Appius maintained ſome rank in the republic as an orator: and was well ſkilled likewiſe in the laws and antiquities of his country. The orations which Cicero inquires after, were probably thoſe which Appius ſpoke in defence of himſelf on theſe trials. *De Clar. Orat.* 297.

and

and hope, agreeably to your promiſe, that you will ſend me ſuch of thoſe performances as have received your laſt hand. A.U. 703.

Tullus, whom you charged, it ſeems, with a commiſſion to me, is not yet arrived. Nor have I any other of your friends with me, except thoſe of my own train: every one of whom I may with ſtrict propriety call yours.

I do not well know what particular letters you mean by thoſe which you call my *angry ones*. I have written twice, 'tis true, in order fully to juſtify myſelf againſt your ſuſpicions, as well as tenderly to reprove you for too haſtily crediting reports to my diſadvantage: and I thought I acted in this agreeably to the ſtricteſt friendſhip. But ſince you ſeem to be diſpleaſed with what I ſaid, I ſhall not take the ſame liberty for the future. However if theſe letters were not, as you tell me, marked with my uſual vein of eloquence, I deſire you would conſider them as none of mine. For as Ariſtarchus [7] inſiſted that every verſe in Homer was ſpurious, which he did not approve; I deſire you would in the ſame manner look upon

[7] A celebrated critic, who flouriſhed at Alexandria 176 years before Chriſt. He is ſaid to have left two ſons behind him, both of them fools: but they will not, perhaps, be thought to have degenerated very greatly from their father, if what is reported of him be true, that he wrote above a thouſand commentaries upon different authors. *Miſer ſi tam multa ſupervacua legiſſet!*

every

A.U. 703. every line which you think unrhetorical, as not the produce of my pen. You ſee I am in a humour to be jocoſe. Farewel: and if you are (as I ſincerely hope) in the poſſeſſion of the cenſorial office; reflect often on the virtues of your illuſtrious anceſtor [8].

LETTER VI.

From MARCUS COELIUS.

WE met with a difficulty that greatly embarraſſed our ſchemes for procuring you a thankſgiving: but a difficulty however which we were not long in ſurmounting. For Curio, notwithſtanding he is much in your intereſt, declared, that as all his attempts for convening a general aſſembly of the people, had been obſtructed [9], he would by no means ſuffer the ſenate

[8] The commentators ſuppoſe, that Cicero alludes to Appius Claudius Coecus, who was cenſor in the year of Rome 442. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his office by two works of great utility to the public: for he made that famous road called the *Via Appia*, part of which ſubſiſts to this day; and was the firſt likewiſe that ſupplied the city of Rome with water, by conveying the river Anio thro' an aqueduct of eleven miles in length. *Liv.* ix. 29.

[9] Paulus, one of the preſent conſuls, not having yet received the price of his integrity, very warmly oppoſed the attempts of Curio: who was endeavouring to procure certain laws from the people in favour of Cæſar's preſent deſigns. Curio in revenge, would not ſuffer any buſineſs to

to paſs any decree of the kind in queſtion. If A.U. 703.
he were to depart, he ſaid, from this reſolution, it would look like giving up the advantages he had gained by the indiſcreet zeal of the conſul Paulus; and he ſhould be conſidered as deſerting the cauſe of the public. In order therefore effectually to remove this objection, we entered into an agreement with him, that if he would ſuffer the decree for your thankſgiving to paſs, no other thankſgiving ſhould be proclaimed during the remainder of this year: to which the conſuls likewiſe conſented. Your acknowledgements are accordingly due to them both: but particularly to Paulus. For he came wholly and readily into our propoſal, in the moſt obliging manner: whereas Marcellus ſomewhat leſſened the merit of his compliance, by telling us, that "the affair of theſe thankſgivings was an article "upon which he laid no ſort of ſtreſs." After having thus adjuſted matters with Curio; we were informed that Hirrus intended to defeat our meaſures by lengthening out the debates [1],

proceed in the ſenate: a power with which he was inveſted as tribune of the people.

[1] A very ſingular cuſtom prevailed in the Roman ſenate with regard to their method of debating: for when a ſenator was required to deliver his ſentiments on the point in queſtion, he was at liberty to harangue on any other ſubject as long as he thought proper. This method was frequently employed to poſtpone a decree by thoſe of an oppoſite party, when they found the majority was likely to be againſt them.

when

A.U. 703. when the queſtion ſhould come before the ſenate. Our next buſineſs therefore was to make our applications on that ſide; which we ſo ſucceſsfully did, that we not only prevailed with him to drop this deſign, but when the queſtion was moved concerning the number of the enemies forces; and he might eaſily have prevented the decree by requiring a liſt of the ſlain[a]; he ſat entirely ſilent. Indeed the ſingle oppoſition he gave to us, was by voting with Cato: who, though he would not aſſent to this motion, ſpoke of your conduct however in very honourable terms. I muſt not forget to mention Favonius likewiſe as a third in this party. You will diſtribute your thanks therefore as they are reſpectively due: To the three laſt, for not preventing this decree, when it was both in their inclination and their power to have done ſo; and to Curio, for making an exception in your favour to the general rule he had laid down to himſelf. Furnius and Lentulus laboured in this affair, as they ought, with as much zeal as if it had been their own, and went about with me in all my applications to ſollicit votes. It is but juſtice to Balbus Corne-

[a] The number of ſlain neceſſary to entitle a general to the honour of a triumph, was 5000: but as a public thankſgiving was a diſtinction of an inferiour nature, perhaps a leſs number might be ſufficient. *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

lius

lius [3] to name him too in the catalogue of your active friends. He exerted himſelf, in truth, with great ſpirit in gaining over Curio: to whom he warmly remonſtrated, that if he continued to obſtruct the ſenate in this article, it would affect the intereſt of Cæſar [4], and conſequently render his own ſincerity ſuſpicious [5]. Among thoſe who voted in your favour, there were ſome that in their hearts nevertheleſs were by no means well-wiſhers to the decree. In this number were the Domitii and the Scipios: in alluſion to which, Curio made them a very ſmart reply, when they affected to be extremely importunate with him to withdraw his proteſt. "I am the more "inclined, ſaid he, to do ſo, as I am ſure it "would be a terrible diſappointment to ſome "who have voted on the other ſide." A.U. 703.

As to political affairs; the efforts of all parties are at preſent directed to a ſingle point; and the general conteſt ſtill is, in relation to the provinces. Pompey ſeems to unite in earneſt with the ſenate,

[3] I have already had occaſion to obſerve, that Balbus acted as a kind of ſuper-intendant of Cæſar's political affairs at Rome.

[4] As Cicero's popular talents could not but render him of ſervice to any party he ſhould eſpouſe; he was at this time courted both by Pompey and Cæſar.

[5] That is, with reſpect to Cæſar: in whoſe intereſt Curio had lately declared himſelf.

A.U. 703. that the 13th [6] of November may be limited for Cæſar's reſigning his government. Curio, on the contrary, is determined to oppoſe this to the utmoſt: and accordingly has relinquiſhed all his other ſchemes, in order to apply his whole ſtrength to the affair in queſtion. As to our party [7]; you well know their irreſolution: and conſequently will readily believe me when I tell you, they have not

[6] The commencement of Cæſar's government in Gaul, cannot be dated higher than the year of Rome 695: for it is unanimouſly agreed by all the ancient hiſtorians, that he was conſul in the year 694. This government was at firſt granted to him for five years, and afterwards enlarged for five more. Agreeably to this computation therefore, the legal period of his adminiſtration could not expire till the year 705; yet Cicero in a letter to Atticus, written in the very beginning of the year 704, ſpeaks of it as abſolutely completed. Cæſar, on the contrary, in the harangue which he made to his army, juſt before his march into Italy, in the commencement of the ſame year, expreſsly ſays, that they had ſerved under him nine years: and it appears by what he mentions ſoon afterwards, that there wanted ſix months to complete his decennial period when he was recalled from his government. The hiſtorians likewiſe are neither agreed with themſelves, nor with each other, in their account of the continuance of Cæſar's adminiſtration in Gaul. For Suetonius in one place calls it nine years, and in another ten: whereas Dion Caſſius expreſsly ſays it was but eight. As the deciſion of this difficulty would prove very little entertaining to the generality of Engliſh readers, it is only marked out for the conſideration of thoſe, who may think the ſolution worth their inquiry. *Vid. Ad At.* vii. 9. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* i. 7. 9. *Suet. in Jul.* 25. 69. *Dio.* xliv. p. 263.

[7] This party was what they called the *optimates*, and which in modern language might be termed the "country party." They wanted not only ſpirit, but unanimity, to act to any effectual purpoſe: *non enim boni, ut putant, conſentiunt*, ſays Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, vii. 5.

the

the ſpirit to puſh their oppoſition to the laſt extremity. The whole myſtery of the ſcene in ſhort is this: Pompey, that he may not ſeem to oppoſe Cæſar, or to aim at any thing but what the latter ſhall think perfectly equitable, repreſents Curio as acting in this affair merely upon his own authority, and with no other view than to create diſturbances. It is certain at the ſame time, that Pompey is much averſe to Cæſar's being elected conſul, before he ſhall have delivered up his government, together with the command of the army: and indeed he ſeems to be extremely apprehenſive of the conſequences, if it ſhould prove otherwiſe. In the mean while he is ſeverely attacked by Curio: who is perpetually reproaching him with deviating from the principles upon which he acted in his ſecond conſulſhip. Take my word for it, notwithſtanding all the difficulties they may throw in Curio's way, Cæſar will never want a friend to riſe up in his cauſe: and if the whole turns, as they ſeem to fear, upon his procuring ſome tribune to interpoſe his negative to their decrees, I will venture to pronounce that he may remain in Gaul as long as he ſhall think proper. A.U. 703.

You will find the ſeveral opinions of the ſenators in relation to this affair, in the news-paper which I herewith ſend to you. I leave you to

A.U. 703. ſelect ſuch articles as you may think worthy of notice: for though I have omitted all the idle ſtories of ſuch a man being hiſſed [9] at the public games, of another being buried with great funeral pomp, together with various impertinencies of the ſame unintereſting kind; it ſtill abounds with many paragraphs of little moment. However, I choſe to err on the right ſide: and had rather hazard informing you of what you may not, perhaps, deſire to hear, than paſs over any thing material.

I am glad to find that your care has not been wanting to procure me ſatisfaction from Sittius: and ſince you ſuſpect that affair is not in very ſafe hands, I intreat you to take it altogether into your own. Farewel.

[9] It was uſual with the populace, when any perſon who had incurred their diſpleaſure, entered the places of public entertainments, to expreſs their reſentments by a general hiſs. An inſtance of this kind which happened with regard to the celebrated Hortenſius, is mentioned in the 29th letter of the third book. Vol. 1. p. 294.

LET-

LETTER VII.

To Caninius Sallustius [1], Proquæſtor.

YOUR courier delivered both your letters to me at Taurus, on the 17th of July: which I will anſwer, as you ſeem to deſire, according to their reſpective dates. A.U. 703.

I have heard no news of my ſucceſſor; and indeed I am inclined to believe, that none will be appointed. Nevertheleſs, I ſee no occaſion for my continuance in this province after the expiration of my year [2]: eſpecially now that all our fears are over with reſpect to the Parthians. I do not propoſe to ſtay at any place in my return; though perhaps I may viſit Rhodes, in order to ſhew that city to my ſon and nephew [3]: but of

[1] Nothing more is known of this perſon than what may be collected from the preſent letter: by which it appears that he was quæſtor to Bibulus in Syria.

[2] That period was now within a few days of expiring: for the letter before us could not have been written ſooner than the 17th of July, and Cicero's adminiſtration ended on the laſt day of the ſame month; computing it from the time he entered his province. *Vid. Ep. Fam.* xv. 2.

[3] "The iſland of Rhodes is ſituated in the Mediterranean, "not far from the coaſt of Lycia and Caria. It had a city of "the ſame name, which was at this time much celebrated, "and reſorted to, on account of its ſchools of eloquence and "philoſophy. Cicero himſelf, in the courſe of his travels, "reſided ſome time here, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy "of oratory under the direction of Molo: who was both an "experienced pleader and fine writer." Mr. *Roſs.*

A.U. 703. this I am not yet determined. The truth is, I am deſirous of reaching Rome as ſoon as poſſible: however I ſhall regulate my journey according to the poſture of public affairs. But I am afraid it will be impoſſible for your ſucceſſor to be ſo expeditious, as to give you an opportunity of joining me in Aſia.

As to what you mention concerning your accounts; it may ſave you, I confeſs, ſome trouble, to make uſe of the diſpenſation which Bibulus, it ſeems, is willing to grant. But I think you can ſcarce neglect delivering them in, without violating the Julian law [4]: and though Bibulus may have his particular reaſons [5] for not paying obedience to that ordinance, I cannot but ſtrongly adviſe your obſerving its injunctions.

I find you agree with ſome others of my friends in thinking, that I ought not to have drawn the troops out of Apamea: and I am ſorry I ſhould

[4] Julius Cæſar procured a law in his firſt conſulate, by which it was enacted that the ſeveral magiſtrates in the provinces ſhould depoſite a copy of their reſpective accounts in the two principal cities of their government. *Pigh. Annal.* i. 352.

[5] Bibulus in the year of Rome 694, was elected joint conſul with Cæſar, by whom he was treated with great contempt and indignity for endeavouring to withſtand the violent meaſures of his adminiſtration. [See rem. 10. p. 163. vol. 1.] It is probable therefore that Bibulus in reſentment of theſe injuries, refuſed to acknowledge the validity of the law mentioned in the preceding note: as not having been paſſed perhaps, with all the neceſſary formalities.

have

have given occaſion by that ſtep to the malicious cenſures of my enemies. But you are ſingular in doubting whether the Parthians had at that time actually repaſſed the Euphrates. It was in full confidence of a fact ſo univerſally confirmed, that I evacuated the ſeveral garriſons of thoſe brave and numerous troops with which I had filled them. A.U. 703.

It is by no means reaſonable that I ſhould tranſmit my quæſtor's accounts to you: nor indeed are they yet ſettled. I intend however to depoſite a copy of them at Apamea. In anſwer to what you mention concerning the booty we took from the Parthians in this war; let me aſſure you, that no man ſhall touch any part of it, except the city quæſtors on behalf of the public. I purpoſe to leave the money at Laodicea which ſhall ariſe from the ſale of thoſe ſpoils, and to take ſecurity for its being paid in Rome: in order to avoid the hazard both to myſelf and the commonwealth of conveying it in ſpecie. As to your requeſt concerning the 100,000 drachmas [6]; it is not in my power to comply with it. For the cheſts of money taken in war, fall under the direction of the præfects, in the ſame manner as all other plunder: and the particular ſhare that be-

[6] About 3000 l. of our money.

A.U. 703. longs to myſelf, is in the hands of the quæſtor. In return to your queſtion, what my thoughts are concerning the legions, which have received orders to march into Syria; I always doubted of their arrival. But I am now fully perſuaded, if it ſhould be known at Rome that every thing is quiet in your province, before thoſe forces enter Syria, that they will certainly be countermanded. And as the ſenate has appointed your ſucceſſor Marius, to conduct thoſe troops; I imagine it will be a conſiderable time before you ſee him. Thus far in reply to your firſt letter: I am now to take notice of your ſecond.

I want no inclination to recommend you, as you deſire, in the ſtrongeſt manner to Bibulus. But I muſt take this opportunity of chiding you a little, for having never acquainted me of the ill, tho' unmerited terms on which I ſtand with him [7]. You are indeed the only one of my friends among his officers, who omitted to inform me, that when the city of Antiochia was in a general conſternation from the late invaſion of the

[7] Notwithſtanding Cicero repreſents the diſguſt which Bibulus had conceived againſt him, to have been altogether without foundation; yet (as Manutius juſtly obſerves upon this paſſage) he had great reaſon to be offended: for Cicero had been a principal promoter of thoſe exceſſive honours which had been paid to Cæſar. See note 5 above.

Parthians,

Parthians, and their great hopes depended upon me and my army, that Bibulus often declared, he would ſuffer the laſt extremity rather than be obliged to my aſſiſtance. However I was not offended at your ſilence, as I imputed it to that particular and powerful connection in which you ſtood related to him as his quæſtor, tho' I was not ignorant at the ſame time, of the manner in which he treated you. But his unfriendly diſpoſition appeared likewiſe in another inſtance: for though he diſpatched a courier to Thermus with an account of the irruption of the Parthians, he did not think proper to communicate any intelligence of that kind to me; notwithſtanding he well knew that I was particularly concerned in the conſequence of that invaſion [8]. The ſingle letter I received from him, was to deſire my intereſt when his ſon was ſoliciting the office of augur: to which, in compliance with thoſe ſentiments I ever bore towards him, and in tenderneſs to the affliction under which he then laboured [9], I endeavoured to return him the moſt A.U. 703.

[8] Cicero's province being contiguous to that of Syria.

[9] Two of his ſons had lately been murdered at Alexandria by ſome Roman ſoldiers. Seneca mentions the behaviour of Bibulus upon this occaſion, as an example of philoſophical magnanimity: for the very next day after he had received this afflicting news, he had the reſolution to appear in the public exerciſe of his proconſular office. *Val. Max.* iv. 1. *Senec. conſol. ad Marc.* 14.

civil

A.U. 703. civil and friendly anſwer I was capable. If this behaviour proceeded from a general moroſeneſs of temper (which I confeſs, I never took to be his diſpoſition) I have the leſs reaſon to complain: but if it aroſe from any particular coolneſs to myſelf, my recommendations can nothing avail you. I am inclined to ſuſpect the latter, from the whole tenor of his conduct towards me. For in his late diſpatches to the ſenate, he is pleaſed to uſurp the entire credit of an affair, in which I was jointly concerned with him: and aſſures that venerable aſſembly that "he had "taken proper care to ſettle the *exchange* [10] in "ſuch a manner as would be moſt advantageous "to the public." He mentions at the ſame time as his own act, what was ſolely and abſolutely mine: and ſays, that "in order to eaſe "the people of the burthen of maintaining the "Lombard troops [11], he forbore to demand "them." On the other hand, he thought proper to give me part in an action which belongs altogether to himſelf: and names me in the letter I am ſpeaking of, as "joining in his "application for a larger allowance of corn for "the uſe of the auxiliary troops." To point out

[10] Of the public money which was to be remitted from Cilicia and Syria; to the treaſury at Rome.

[11] Which were raiſed in order to be ſent againſt the Parthians.

another

another inſtance alſo, which betrays the meaneſt and moſt contemptible malevolence: Ariobarzanes having been particularly recommended by the ſenate to my protection [12], and it being by my means they were prevailed upon to acknowledge his regal title; Bibulus conſtantly ſpeaks of him throughout his letter under the degrading appellation of "the ſon of the late king." My recommendation therefore to a perſon thus ill-diſpoſed towards me, would only render him ſo much the more diſinclined to ſerve you. Nevertheleſs, I herewith encloſe a letter, which I have written to him, in compliance with your requeſt: and I leave it to your own diſcretion to make what uſe of it you ſhall think proper. Farewel. A.U. 703.

LETTER VIII.

MARCUS COELIUS, to CICERO.

I Congratulate you on your alliance [1] with ſo worthy a man as Dolabella: for ſuch I ſincerely think him. His former conduct, 'tis true, has not been altogether for his own advantage. But time has now worn out thoſe little indiſcretions of his youth: at leaſt if any of them ſhould

[12] See let. 1. book 4.
[1] See rem. 6. on the firſt letter of this book.

A.U. 703. ſtill remain, the authority and advantage of your advice and friendſhip, together with the good ſenſe of Tullia, will ſoon, I am confident, reclaim him. He is by no means indeed obſtinate in his errors: and it is not from any incapacity of diſcerning better, whenever he deviates from the right path. To ſay all in one word, I infinitely love him.

Do you know, my dear Cicero, what a victory Curio has lately obtained in relation to the provinces? The ſenate, in purſuance of a former order, having aſſembled to conſider of the obſtruction which ſome of the tribunes had given to their decree [2]; Marcus Marcellus moved, that application might be made to thoſe magiſtrates to withdraw their proteſt: but it was carried in the negative by a conſiderable majority. Pompey is at preſent in ſuch delicate circumſtances, that he will ſcarce find any meaſures, I believe, perfectly to his ſatisfaction. The ſenate, however, ſeem to intend by the reſolution I juſt now mentioned [3], that Cæſar ſhall be admitted as a can-

[2] This decree, together with the proteſt of the tribunes here mentioned, is inſerted at large in the 7th letter of the 4th book. P. 353. vol. 1.

[3] Cicero ſpeaks of this reſolution in a letter to Atticus, and produces it as a proof that the intentions of the ſenate were not true to the intereſt of the commonwealth. For had the motion of Marcellus been vigorouſly ſupported, Curio's oppoſition, he ſays, would have been in vain, and Cæſar muſt neceſſarily have reſigned his command. *Ad Att.* vii. 7.

didate

didate for the conſulſhip, notwithſtanding he ſhould refuſe to reſign his government. What effect this may have upon Pompey, you ſhall know as ſoon as I can diſcover [4]. In the mean time, it imports you wealthy veterans to conſider what methods to purſue, in caſe the latter ſhould appear either unable, or unwilling to ſupport the republic. A.U. 703.

Hortenſius [5] lies at the point of death. Farewel.

[4] There is evidently ſome error in the Latin text: which runs thus: *Quemadmodum hoc laturus Pompeius ſit, cum cognoſcat, quidnam reipublicæ futurum ſit, ſi aut non curet, vos ſenes*, &c. I have ventured, though unſupported by any of the manuſcripts or commentators, to read this paſſage in the following manner: *Quemadmodum hoc Pompeius laturus ſit, cum* cognoſcam, te certiorem faciam. *Quidnam reip. futurum ſit, ſi aut non poſſit, aut non curet, vos, &c.*

[5] Hortenſius would have been conſidered as the nobleſt orator that ever ſhined in the Roman Forum, if Cicero had not riſen upon him with ſuperior luſtre. There was a peculiar eloquence in his *manner*, as well as in his expreſſion: and it was difficult to determine whether his audience beheld the grace of his action, or liſtened to the charms of his rhetoric, with greater admiration and pleaſure. Cicero often celebrates him for the prodigious ſtrength of his memory: of which the elder Seneca has recorded a remarkable inſtance. He undertook, it ſeems, as a proof of its force, to attend a whole day at a public auction, and give an exact account of every thing that was put up to ſale, of the price at which it was ſold, and of the name of every particular purchaſer: and this he accordingly executed without failing in a ſingle article. Cicero received the news of his death, with real concern: for though there was a perpetual rivalſhip, there was a mutual friendſhip nevertheleſs between them. This harmony, ſo unuſual with thoſe who contend together for the ſame prize, was greatly owing to the good offices of Atticus: who ſeems indeed upon all occaſions (and it is the

LET-

LETTER IX.

To Appius Pulcher.

A.U. 703. THAT I may anſwer your letter in due form, let me pay my congratulations to you in the firſt place, and then turn to what concerns myſelf.

Be aſſured, the account you gave me concerning the event of your trial on the information for bribery[6], afforded me great pleaſure. Not becauſe you were acquitted; for I never entertained the leaſt doubt of the contrary; but to find that there was not a ſingle judge who dared throw in a negative upon your innocence, even under all the ſecrecy and ſafety which the method of balloting would have ſecured to his malice. This is a circumſtance altogether extraordinary: a circumſtance indeed, ſo little agreeable to the general principles and purpoſes of the preſent depraved generation, that the more I reflect on your high rank, on your public and private virtues,

moſt amiable part of his very ſingular character) to have employed the remarkable influence he enjoyed with all parties, in reconciling differences and cementing friendſhips. Hortenſius was about ſix years older than Cicero: and died in the 63d year of his age. *Val. Max.* viii. 10. *Cic. de clar. orat.* 301. *Senec. controverſ.* i. *in proem.* *Ad Att.* vi. 6. viii. 8. *Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att.* 5.

[6] See rem. 4. on let. 5. book 5.

and

and on the diſtinguiſhed honours to which they have exalted you, the more I conſider it with aſtoniſhment. I can truly ſay, no occurrence has happened for a conſiderable time that ſurpriſed me more. A.U. 703.

And now, let me intreat you to imagine yourſelf for a moment in my ſituation with reſpect to the affair you mentioned[7]: and if you ſhould then find that you are under no difficulties, I will not deſire you to excuſe mine. You will allow me to join in your own good-natured wiſhes, that an alliance which was conducted without my knowledge, may prove happy both to me and to my daughter. I will venture to hope too, that ſomething may be derived not altogether unfavourable to my wiſhes[8], even from the particular conjuncture wherein this tranſaction has happened: tho' I muſt add, that nothing encourages me in this hope ſo much, as the ſentiments I entertain of your candour and good ſenſe. What farther to ſay I know not. On the one hand, it would not become me to ſpeak with more deſpondency of an affair, to which you have kindly given your favourable preſages: on the other, there are ſome

[7] The marriage of Cicero's daughter with Dolabella.

[8] What Cicero ſeems to intimate in this paſſage is, that he might probably be enabled by the influence which his alliance would give him with Dolabella, to infuſe into him a more favourable diſpoſition towards Appius.

lights

A.U. 703. lights in which I cannot view it without uneaſineſs. I am apprehenſive indeed leſt you ſhould not be ſufficiently perſuaded, that this treaty was managed without my privity [9]: as in truth it was by ſome of my friends, to whom I gave a general commiſſion to act in my abſence as they ſhould judge proper, without referring themſelves, at this great diſtance, to me. But if you aſk what meaſures I would have taken, had I been preſent? I will freely own, I ſhould have approved of the match [10]: tho' as to the time of conſummating it, I ſhould certainly have done nothing either without your advice, or contrary to your inclination.

You have already diſcovered, I dare ſay, how terribly I am perplexed between apologizing for a ſtep which I am obliged to defend, and avoiding at the ſame time ſaying any thing that may give you offence. Have ſo much charity, therefore, I beſeech you, as to eaſe me of this embarraſſment: for, in fair truth, I never pleaded

[9] See rem. 6. on let. 1. of this book.

[10] Cicero had ſurely forgotten what he ſaid to Appius in a former letter. For taking notice of the report which Dolabella had ſpread concerning this match, he affirms there was ſo little of truth in it, that he would much ſooner renounce all former correſpondence with Dolabella, than enter into a new connection with a man who had declared himſelf the enemy of Appius. *Ego citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias ſuſcepiſſet, veterem conjunctionem diremiſſem, quam novam conciliaſſem.* Ep. Fam. iii. 10. See the firſt letter of this book.

a more

a more difficult cauſe. Of this, however, be well perſuaded, that had I not, ere I was informed of this alliance, completed my good offices in your ſervice; it would have induced me to defend your reputation, not indeed with more zeal (for that would have been impoſſible) but certainly with ſo much the more conſpicuous and ſignificant teſtimonies of my friendſhip. A.U. 703.

The firſt notice that was given me of this marriage, was by a letter which I received on the 3d of Auguſt, upon my arrival at Sida: at which city I touched in my voyage from the province. Your friend Servilius who was then with me, ſeemed a good deal concerned at the news; but I aſſured him, that the only effect it would have with reſpect to myſelf, would be to give an additional ſtrength to my future ſervices in your behalf. To be ſhort, tho' it cannot increaſe my affection for you, it has increaſed my endeavours of rendering that affection more evident. And as our former diſunion made me ſo much the more cautious to avoid affording the leaſt ſuſpicion, that my reconcilement with you was not thoroughly ſincere; ſo this alliance will heighten my care not to give the world reaſon to think, that it has in any degree impaired the ſtrength of that perfect friendſhip I bear you. Farewel.

LETTER X.

To Marcus Cato [1].

A.U. 703. *PRaiſe from thy lips 'tis mine with pride to boaſt:*
He beſt can give it who deſerves it moſt:

as Hector, I think, ſays to the venerable Priam in one of Nævius's plays. Honourable indeed is that approbation which is beſtowed by thoſe who have themſelves been the conſtant object of univerſal applauſe. Accordingly, I eſteem the encomiums you conferred upon me in the ſenate, together with your congratulatory letter, as a diſtinction of the higheſt and moſt illuſtrious kind [2]. Nothing could be more agree-

[1] This letter is an anſwer to the ſecond in the preceding book, p. 430. vol. 1.

[2] Cicero was at this time well pleaſed with the part which Cato had acted towards him: for he tells Atticus, what he likewiſe ſays in this letter, that "he looked upon the applauſes which the former had conferred upon him in the "ſenate, as preferable to all the triumphs in the world." But he ſoon changed his language: and in his ſubſequent letters to Atticus, he expreſſes himſelf with great warmth and indignation againſt Cato's behaviour in this very article. Cato, it ſeems, had granted to Bibulus what he refuſed to Cicero, and voted that a general thankſgiving ſhould be appointed for the ſucceſs of the former in Syria. This was a preference which Cicero could not digeſt: and he complains of it to Atticus in terms to the following purpoſe. "Cato,

able to my wiſhes, as nothing could be more glo- A.U. 703.
rious for my reputation, than your having thus freely given to friendſhip, whatever you could ſtrictly give to truth. Were Rome entirely compoſed of Catos, or could it produce many (as it is ſurpriſing it can furniſh even one) of that venerable character; my deſires would be amply ſatisfied: and I ſhould prefer your ſingle approbation, to all the laurels and all the triumphal cars in the univerſe. In my own judgment indeed, and according to the refined eſtimate of true phi-

" ſays he, has given me his applauſes, which I *did not deſire*, " but refuſed me his ſuffrage, tho' I earneſtly requeſted it. " Yet this ungrateful man has voted that a thankſgiving ſhall " be appointed for twenty days, in honour of Bibulus. Par- " don me for ſaying it; but I neither can, nor will forgive " ſo injurious a treatment." Cicero aſcribes this conduct of Cato, to envy; and his ingenious tranſlator, Monſieur Mongault, imputes it to partiality. On the contrary, I am perſuaded it flowed neither from the one, nor the other: but was the pure reſult of that impartial juſtice which ſeems upon all occurrences to have invariably determined his actions. For Cicero had undoubtedly no claim to the honour he demanded: and for this reaſon, among others; becauſe the number of the ſlain on the ſide of the enemy, was not ſo great as the laws in theſe caſes required. [Vid. Ep. Fam. viii. 11.] But it is probable that the claim of Bibulus was ſupported by all the *legal* requiſites. For tho' the Parthians were driven out of Syria before his arrival in the province: yet Caſſius, by whoſe bravery they were repulſed, acted under the auſpices of Bibulus: *ſub ejus auſpicia res geſtæ erant*, as they expreſſed it. Now the ſucceſs of the lieutenant, or other ſubordinate officer, was always imputed to the general, notwithſtanding he were not actually preſent; as being ſuppoſed to ariſe from the effect of theſe *auſpicia*, or ſacred rites, which he previouſly performed ere he ſet out on his intended expedition. *Ad Att.* vii. 1. 2. 3. *Roſin. Antiq. Rom.* 968.

A.U. 703. loſophy, the honours you paid me in the ſenate, and which have been tranſmitted to me by my friends, is undoubtedly the moſt ſignificant diſtinction I can poſſibly receive. I acquainted you in my former letter, with the particular motives which induced me to be deſirous (for I will not call it ambitious) of a triumph: and if the reaſons I there aſſigned will not, in your opinion, juſtify a warm purſuit of that honour; they muſt prove at leaſt that I ought not to refuſe it, if the ſenate ſhould make me the offer. And I hope that aſſembly, in conſideration of my ſervices in this province, will not think me undeſerving of a reward ſo uſually conferred. If I ſhould not be diſappointed in this hope, my only requeſt is, (what indeed you kindly promiſe) that as you have paid me the honours you thought moſt to my glory; you would rejoice in my obtaining thoſe which are moſt to my inclination. And this diſpoſition you have already very ſincerely ſhewn, not only by your letter, but by having ſigned the decree that has paſſed in my favour. For decrees of this kind, I know, are uſually ſubſcribed by thoſe who are moſt in the intereſt of the perſon to whoſe honour they are voted. I will only add, that I hope to ſee you very ſhortly: and may I find the republic in a happier ſituation than I have reaſon to fear! Farewel.

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LETTER XI.

To Caius Marcellus, Conſul.

I Am informed by the letters of all my friends, A.U. 703.
what indeed I was ſufficiently ſenſible of by the effects, that you have exerted the ſame generous zeal in promoting my honours [3] now that you are conſul, which you always diſcovered, in conjunction with your whole family, in every preceding ſtation of your life. There is no good office therefore which you have not a full right to claim at my hands: as there is none which I ſhall not at all times be moſt warmly and joyfully ready to return. It is a point of much importance from whom one receives an obligation: but believe me, there is not a man in the world I would rather chuſe to be obliged to, than yourſelf. For not to mention that I have been attached to you by a ſimilitude of ſtudies, and by the many generous ſervices I have received both from yourſelf and your father: there is an additional inducement, which, in my eſtimation, is of all others the moſt engaging: I mean the manner in

[3] This alludes to the good offices of Marcellus in relation to the general thankſgiving which had lately been voted for the ſucceſs of Cicero's arms in Cilicia. See the 6th letter of this book, p. 30.

A.U. 703. which you act, and have ever acted, in the administration of public affairs. As nothing then is more dear to me than the commonwealth; can I ſcruple to be as much indebted to you in my own particular, as I am in common with every friend to the republic? And may your patriot labours be attended, as I truſt they will, with all the ſucceſs they deſerve!

If the Eteſian winds [4], which uſually begin to blow about this ſeaſon of the year, ſhould not retard my voyage, I hope to ſee you very ſpeedily. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

To APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN the queſtion concerning the military honours to be paid to your arms [5] was formerly debated in the ſenate, I ſupported the cauſe of your glory with as much warmth and zeal, as if I had foreſeen that I ſhould one day have occaſion for your good offices of the ſame kind to myſelf. Truth obliges me, however, to

[4] Periodical winds, which conſtantly blow the ſame way during a certain number of months every year.

[5] In Cilicia probably: in which province, Appius, as the reader has been informed, was predeceſſor to Cicero. This letter is upon the ſame ſubject with the preceding.

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acknowledge, that you have returned much more than you received. All my letters indeed from Rome agree in aſſuring me, that you not only ſupported my intereſt by the authority of your eloquence and the credit of your vote, (which was as much as I could in reaſon deſire from a man of your rank and character) but that by contributing your advice, by aſſiſting at the meetings which were held upon my account, by your perſonal applications, and in ſhort, by your aſſiduity in general, you rendered the good offices of the reſt of my friends altogether ſuperfluous. Theſe are circumſtances far more to my credit, than the honour itſelf for which you thus generouſly laboured. The latter indeed has frequently been obtained by thoſe who had done nothing to deſerve it; but no man was ever ſupported with ſo much zeal by an advocate thus illuſtrious, without merit to juſtify his claim. But the great benefit that I propoſe to myſelf by your friendſhip, ariſes entirely from the advantages which naturally flow from an intercourſe of this kind: as nothing in truth can be attended with greater, eſpecially between two perſons, who, like you and me, are united by the ſame common purſuits. For I profeſs to act with you upon the ſame political principles, in which our ſentiments are perfectly agreed, as well as to be A.U. 703.

A.U. 703. joined with you in an equal attachment to the ſame arts and ſciences which we mutually cultivate. I ſincerely wiſh that fortune had as ſtrongly connected us in every other reſpect; and that you could think of all who belong to me [6], with the ſame friendly ſentiments I entertain for thoſe who ſtand related to you. But I do not deſpair that even this may be effected. It is a point however in which you are no way concerned, and which it is my part alone to manage. In the mean time, I beg you would be perſuaded, as you will moſt certainly experience, that this alliance has, if poſſible, rather augmented than diminiſhed the warmth of my zeal for your ſervice.

But as I hope I am now writing to a cenſor [7], I muſt have the modeſty to ſhorten my letter; that I may not be guilty of a breach of reſpect to a magiſtrate, who is the great ſuper-intendant of good-manners Farewel.

[6] This alludes to Dolabella: whoſe conduct to Appius has been ſo often mentioned in theſe remarks.

[7] See rem. 5. on the firſt letter of this book.

LETTER XIII.

To MARCUS COELIUS, Curule Ædile.

NOTHING could be more judicious, nor more carefully conducted, than your management of Curio in relation to the thankſgiving [8]. Indeed the circumſtances of that whole affair, have proved entirely conformable to my wiſhes; not only as it paſſed the ſenate with ſo much expedition, but as our mutual competitor, the angry Hirrus, expreſſed his aſſent to thoſe divine encomiums with which Cato honoured my actions. I am inclined to flatter myſelf therefore, that this will lead to a triumph: and I deſire you would be prepared accordingly. A.U. 703.

It is with great pleaſure I find, that Dolabella enjoys the happineſs of your eſteem and friendſhip. I was at no loſs to gueſs the circumſtance to which you alluded, when you mentioned your hopes that the prudence of my daughter Tullia would temper his conduct. But what would you have ſaid had

[8] See the ſixth letter of the preſent book: to which this is an anſwer.

you

A.U. 703. you ſeen the letter I wrote [1] to Appius, immediately after I received yours upon that ſubject? yet thus we muſt act, my friend, if we would live in the world [2]. I hope the gods will give ſucceſs to this match; and that I ſhall have reaſon to be well ſatisfied with my ſon-in-law: I am ſure at leaſt, your amicable offices will extremely contribute to that end.

The dark proſpect of public affairs fills me with great diſquietude. I am well-inclined towards Curio; it is my wiſh that Cæſar's atchievements may meet with the honourable rewards they deſerve; and I would willingly ſacrifice my life in ſupport of Pompey: ſtill however none of my affections are ſuperior to that which I feel for my country. But I perceive you do not take any great part in her conteſts; being divided, I ſuppoſe, between the different obligations of a patriot, and a friend.

Upon my departure from the province, I left the adminiſtration in the hands of Caldus [3]. You will be ſurpriſed, perhaps, that I ſhould commit ſo great a truſt to ſo young a man. But you will remember that he was my quæſtor;

[1] The letter to which Cicero alludes, is the firſt of the preſent book.

[2] See rem. 6. on let. 1. of this book.

[3] The perſon to whom the third letter of this book is addreſſed.

that

that he is a youth of a noble family; and that I am juſtified in my choice by a practice almoſt univerſal. Beſides, I had no other perſon near me of ſuperior rank: for Pontinius had long before quitted the province; and as to my brother, I could by no means have prevailed upon him to accept the employment. Indeed, if I had placed the adminiſtration in his hands, the malicious part of the world would probably have ſaid, that inſtead of reſigning my government in obedience to the decree of the ſenate; I ſtill continued it in the perſon of one who may juſtly be conſidered as my ſecond ſelf. They might perhaps have added too, that the intentions of the ſenate were, that thoſe only ſhould command in the provinces who had never enjoyed a government before [4]; whereas my brother had actually preſided in Aſia [5] during three whole years. The method I have taken therefore ſecures me from all cenſure: whereas if I had ſubſtituted my brother; there is no abuſe I ſhould not have had reaſon to expect. In fine, I was induced, I will not ſay to court, but A.U. 703.

[4] The particular decree to which Cicero alludes, may be found among thoſe which are inſerted in the ſeventh letter of the fourth book. It ſtands the laſt.

[5] He was elected governor of Aſia Minor, in the year of Rome 692.

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A.U. 703. at leaſt to avoid diſobliging a young man of Caldus's quality, not only by my own inclination, but by the example alſo of our two great potentates [6]; who in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſon, diſtinguiſhed their reſpective quæſtors, Caſſius and Antonius [7]. Upon the whole, my friend, I expect that you approve of my choice: for it is now out of my power to recall it.

The hint you dropped concerning Ocella, was ſo extremely obſcure [8], that I could make nothing of it: and I find no mention of it in your news-paper.

You are become ſo wonderfully celebrated, that the fame of your conduct in relation to Matrinius, has travelled beyond Mount Taurus.

If I ſhould not be delayed by the Eteſian winds, I hope to embrace you and the reſt of my friends very ſoon. Farewel.

[6] Cæſar and Pompey.

[7] Quintus Caſſius, brother to the celebrated Caius Caſſius, was quæſtor to Pompey in Spain: as Mark Antony ſerved under Cæſar in the ſame quality, when he preſided as prætor in that province.

[8] See the ſixth letter of the fifth book, vol. 1. p. 442.

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LETTER XIV.

MARCUS COELIUS to CICERO.

I AM aſhamed to own how much occaſion I have to complain of Appius. This ungrateful man ſingled me out as the object of his ſecret ſpleen, for no other reaſon but becauſe he has received greater obligations from me than his narrow ſpirit would ſuffer him to return. However, he could not carry on his malicious purpoſes with ſo much concealment, as to prevent my receiving an intimation of them: and indeed I had myſelf obſerved, that he certainly did not mean me well. Accordingly I found that he had been tampering with his collegue[1] to my prejudice: as he ſoon afterwards openly avowed his injurious deſigns to ſome others of his friends. I diſcovered alſo that he had entered into ſome conſultations of the ſame kind with Lucius Domitius: who is lately, I muſt inform you, become my moſt bitter enemy. In ſhort, I perceived that he was endeavouring to recommend himſelf to Pompey, by his ill offices to me. Nevertheleſs, I could not ſubmit to enter into any A.U. 703.

[1] Lucius Calphurnius Piſo, the father-in-law of Cæſar, was collegue with Appius in the cenſorial office.

perſonal

A.U. 703. perſonal remonſtrances, or interceſſions, with a man, whom I had reaſon to conſider as indebted to me even for his life. I contented myſelf therefore with complaining to ſome of our common friends, who had been witneſſes to the obligations he had received at my hands. But as this method, I found, was to no purpoſe, and that he would not deign to give me the leaſt ſatisfaction; I determined to apply to his collegue. I rather choſe indeed to aſk a favour of the latter, (notwithſtanding I was ſenſible that my connections with you * had rendered him far from being my friend) than undergo the mortification of engaging in a perſonal conference with ſo ridiculous and contemptible a mortal as Appius. This ſtep extremely exaſperated him: and he was no ſooner appriſed of it, than he warmly complained that I was ſeeking a pretence to quarrel with him merely in reſentment, he ſaid, for his not having fully gratified my avaritious expectations. Soon after this, he openly endeavoured to procure Servius to exhibit articles of impeachment againſt me: and entered into ſeveral conſultations with Domitius for that pur-

* An enmity had ſubſiſted between Piſo and Cicero ever ſince the conſulate of the former: who concurred with Clodius in thoſe violent meaſures which terminated in Cicero's exile. See rem. 2. p. 37. and rem. 21. p. 174. vol. 1.

poſe.

poſe. But when they perceived that they could not ſucceed in their intended charge, they dropped this deſign, and reſolved to encourage a proſecution of another kind: though at the ſame time they well knew that there was not the leaſt ſhadow of evidence to ſupport their accuſation. However towards the cloſe of my Circenſian games [3], theſe ſhameleſs confederates cauſed me to be indicted on the Scantinian law [4]. But Pola, whom they had ſpirited up to be the informer, had ſcarce entered his action, when I lodged an information againſt our worthy cenſor [5] himſelf, for the very ſame crime. And nothing, in truth, could have been more happily concerted. For this retaliation was ſo univerſally applauded, and A.U. 703.

[3] Circenſian games is a general name for thoſe ſhews of various kinds which were exhibited at different ſeaſons to the people in the Circus: a place in Rome ſet apart for that purpoſe. But the particular games alluded to in this paſſage are moſt probably (as Manutius with great reaſon conjectures) thoſe which they called the Roman. For theſe were exhibited by the ædiles in September: and this letter ſeems to have been written ſome time in that, or the following month. The nature of theſe games has been explained in a former note.

[4] The author of this law was Marcus Scantinius, who was tribune of the people in the year of Rome 601. It prohibited that horrid and unnatural commerce, which in after-ages of more confirmed and ſhameleſs corruption, became ſo general as to be openly avowed even by thoſe who affected, in other reſpects, a decency of character. Horace and Pliny the conſul are both inſtances of this kind: and afford a very remarkable evidence, that the beſt diſpoſitions are not proof againſt faſhionable vices, how deteſtable ſoever, without a much ſtronger counterpoiſe than a mere moral ſenſe can ſupply.

[5] Appius.

by

A.U. 703. by the better ſort too among the people; that the general ſatisfaction they have expreſſed has mortified Appius even more than the diſgrace of the information itſelf. I have charged him likewiſe with appropriating a little chapel to his private uſe, which belongs to the public [6].

It is almoſt ſix weeks ſince I delivered my former letter to the ſlave, who now brings you both: and I am extremely vexed at the fellow's delay.----I think I have no farther news to ſend you, except that Domitius [7] is in great pain for the ſucceſs of his approaching election.

As I earneſly wiſh to ſee you, I expect your arrival with much impatience. I will only add my requeſt, that you would ſhew the world you are as ſenſible of the injuries done to me, as I have ever warmly reſented thoſe which have at any time been offered to yourſelf. Farewel.

[6] Manutius in his remark upon this place, produces a paſſage from Livy, by which he proves, that it was the buſineſs of the cenſors to take care that theſe public chapels ſhould not be ſhut up by private perſons from the general and common uſe to which they were originally erected. Coelius therefore informed againſt his adverſary for having practiſed himſelf what it was incumbent upon him by the duties of his office to puniſh in others. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

[7] This perſon, it is probable, is the ſame who is mention'd before in this letter. The commentators ſuppoſe that the election of which Coelius ſpeaks, was for a member of the augural college in the room of Hortenſius, lately deceaſed. For it is ſaid in the next letter, that Mark Antony was his competitor: and it appears from Hirtius that the former was choſen augur about this time. *Hirt. de bel. Galli.* vii. 50.

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LETTER XV.

From the Same.

IF you had taken the king of Parthia himſelf priſoner, and ſacked his metropolis, it would not make you amends for your abſence from theſe diverting ſcenes. You have loſt indeed a ſubject of inexhauſtible mirth, by not being a ſpectator of the very ridiculous figure which the luckleſs Domitius diſplayed, when he lately found himſelf diſappointed of his election [a]. The aſſembly of the people was exceedingly numerous upon this occaſion: but the force of party bore down all before it [9], and even carried away many of the friends of Domitius from his intereſt. This circumſtance he imputes to my management: and as he conſiders the preference which has been thus given to his competitor, as a real injury done to himſelf, he honours me with the ſame marks of his diſpleaſure, with which he diſ- A.U. 703.

[a] See the laſt note of the preceding letter.

[9] Mark Antony was ſupported by all the intereſt and credit of Cæſar: who exerted himſelf very ſtrenuouſly upon this occaſion, by going in perſon to the ſeveral municipal towns of Italy that lay neareſt to his province of Gaul, in order to engage them in favour of his friend. For theſe cities being admitted to the freedom of Rome, had a right of voting at elections. *Hirt. de bell. Gall.* viii. 50.

A.U. 703. tinguiſhes the moſt intimate of his friends. He is at preſent indeed a very diverting ſpectacle of indignant wrath: which he impotently diſcharges, in the firſt place againſt myſelf, for promoting the election of Mark Antony, and in the next againſt the people, for expreſſing ſo much ſatisfaction in his repulſe.

Under this article of news relating to Domitius, I muſt not forget to mention, that his ſon has commenced a proſecution againſt Saturninus: a man, it muſt be owned, whoſe conduct in the former part of his life has rendered him extremely odious. The public is waiting with great impatience for the event of this trial: but ſince the infamous Peducæus has been acquitted, there is a fair proſpect that Saturninus will not meet with more inexorable judges.

As to political affairs; I have often mentioned to you, that I imagined the public tranquillity could not poſſibly be preſerved beyond the preſent year: and the nearer we approach to thoſe contentions which muſt inevitably ariſe, the more evident this danger appears. For Pompey is determined moſt ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe Cæſar's being conſul, unleſs he reſigns his command: and Cæſar, on the contrary, is perſuaded that he cannot be ſafe upon thoſe terms [1]. He has offered,

[1] Cæſar had acted in a very arbitrary and illegal manner during his firſt conſulate: he apprehended therefore, and however,

however, to throw up his commiſſion, provided Pompey will do the ſame. And thus their very ſuſpicious friendſhip and alliance, will probably end at laſt in an open war. For my own part, I ſhall be extremely perplexed in what manner to act in that conjuncture: and I doubt you will likewiſe find yourſelf under the ſame embarraſſment. On the one hand, I have an intereſt and connection with Pompey's party: and on the other, it is Cæſar's cauſe alone, and not his friends, that I diſlike. You are ſenſible, I dare ſay, that ſo long as the diſſentions of our country are confined within the limits of debate, we ought ever to join with the more righteous ſide; but that as ſoon as the ſword is drawn, the ſtrongeſt party is always the beſt [2]. With reſpect to our preſent diviſions, I foreſee that the ſenate, together with the whole order of judges [3], will A.U. 703

with juſt reaſon, that if he ſhould diveſt himſelf of his command, and return to Rome in a private character, his enemies would immediately arraign him for his male adminiſtration. *Dio, p.* 148.

[2] It were to be wiſhed that every man who embraces this maxim, were as little ſcrupulous of acknowledging it, as the author of this letter: for of all noxious creatures, a knave without a maſk is by far the leaſt dangerous.

[3] The expreſſion in the original is, *quique res judicant*: which Dr. Middleton has tranſlated, *and all who judge of things*. But this explanation is contrary to the concurrent ſentiments of the beſt commentators, who agree that *qui res judicant* is a circumlocution for *judices*. The phraſe, it muſt be owned, is ſingular: and ſo is the ſtile of Coelius in ge-

A.U. 703. declare in favour of Pompey: and that all thoſe of deſperate fortunes, or who are obnoxious to the laws, will liſt themſelves under the banners of Cæſar. As to their armies; I am perſuaded there will be a great inequality. But I hope we ſhall have time enough to conſider the ſtrength of their reſpective forces, and to declare ourſelves accordingly.

I had almoſt forgotten to mention a piece of news, much too remarkable to be omitted. You muſt know that our worthy cenſor Appius is become the very prodigy of reformers, and is moſt outrageouſly active in reſtraining our extravagancies in pictures and ſtatues, in limiting the number of our acres, and aboliſhing uſurious contracts [4]. The man imagines, I ſuppoſe, that

neral. But what principally confirms the ſenſe here adopted is, that it is moſt agreeable both to credibility and to fact. For it is by no means probable that every man of judgment was an enemy to Cæſar: and it is moſt certain that the whole order of judges were friends to Pompey. *Vid. Ad Att.* viii. 16. *Life of Cic.* ii. 212. 8*vo ed.*

[4] It is probable that Appius had himſelf as remarkably tranſgreſſed the rules of moderation in this laſt article, as he undoubtedly had in the other two: for avarice is an attendant that ſeldom fails of accompanying luxury. It is certain at leaſt that his own poſſeſſions were far above mediocrity: for Cicero frequently ſpeaks of him in the preceding letters as a man who by his wealth as well as by his alliances and abilities, was of great weight in the republic. And as to his extravagance of the virtuoſo kind, it appears that when he intended to offer himſelf as a candidate for the office of ædile, he plundered all the temples of Greece, as well as other leſs ſacred repoſitories, in order to make a collection of

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the cenſorſhip is a kind of ſpecific for diſcharging A.U. 703.
the ſtains of a blemiſhed reputation[5]. But I have a notion he will find himſelf miſtaken: for the more pains he takes of this ſort to clear his character, the more viſibly the ſpots will appear.---In the name of all the gods, my dear Cicero, haſten hither to enjoy the diverting ſpectacle of Appius ſitting in judgment on extravagance, and Druſus[6] on debauchery! It is a ſight, believe me, well worth your expedition.

Curio is thought to have acted very prudently, in withdrawing his proteſt againſt the decree for the payment of Pompey's troops.——But to anſwer your queſtion in few words concerning my ſentiments of public affairs; if one or other of our chiefs ſhould not be employed againſt the Parthians, I am perſuaded great diſſentions will ſoon enſue: diſſentions, my friend,

pictures and ſtatues for the decoration of the games which were annually exhibited by thoſe magiſtrates. *Ep. Fam.* iii. 10. *Pro Domo* 43. *Vid. et Pigh. Annal. anno* 696.

[5] The batteries of ridicule are never more properly pointed, than when they are thus levelled at counterfeit virtue: as there is nothing that more juſtly raiſes contempt and indignation than thoſe reforming hypocrites,

Qui Curios ſimulant & Bacchanalia vivunt. Juven.

[6] It is ſuppoſed from what Coelius here ſays of him, that he was one of the prætors this year. *Pigh. Annal.* 703.

A.U. 703. which nothing can terminate but the ſword, and which each of them ſeem well-inclined and prepared to draw. In ſhort, if your own ſafety were not deeply concerned, I ſhould ſay that Fortune is going to open to you a moſt entertaining ſcene [8]. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

To TERENTIA and TULLIA.

THE amiable young Cicero and myſelf are perfectly well, if you and my deareſt Tullia are ſo. We arrived here [9] on the 14th of this month, after a very tedious and diſagreeable paſſage, occaſioned by contrary winds. Acaſtus [1] met me upon my landing, with letters from Rome; having been ſo expeditious as to perform his journey in one-and-twenty days. In the packet which he delivered to me, I found yours, wherein you expreſs ſome uneaſineſs leſt your former letters ſhould not have reached my hands.

[8] The meaning of this ſeems to be (as one of the commentators has explained it) that if Cicero himſelf were not in danger from the diſſention between Cæſar and Pompey, it muſt afford him great diverſion to ſee theſe two chiefs, who had both of them uſed him ill, revenging his quarrel upon each other.

[9] Athens.

[1] A freedman belonging to Cicero.

They

They have, my Terentia: and I am extremely A.U. 703.
obliged to you for the very full accounts you gave me of every thing I was concerned to know.

I am by no means ſurpriſed at the ſhortneſs of your laſt, as you had reaſon to expect us ſo ſoon. It is with great impatience I wiſh for that meeting: though I am ſenſible, at the ſame time, of the unhappy ſituation in which I ſhall find the republic. All the letters indeed which I received by Acaſtus, agree in aſſuring me, that there is a general tendency to a civil war: ſo that when I come to Rome I ſhall be under a neceſſity of declaring myſelf on one ſide or the other. However, ſince there is no avoiding the ſcene which fortune has prepared for me, I ſhall be the more expeditious in my journey, that I may the better deliberate on the ſeveral circumſtances which muſt determine my choice. Let me intreat you to meet me as far on my way, as your health will permit.

The legacy which Precius has left me, is an acquiſition that I receive with great concern: as I tenderly loved him, and extremely lament his death. If his eſtate ſhould be put up to auction before my arrival, I beg you would recommend my intereſt in it to the care of Atticus: or in caſe his affairs ſhould not allow him to undertake the office, that you would requeſt the ſame fa-

A.U. 703. vour of Camillus. And if this ſhould not find you at Rome, I deſire you would ſend proper directions thither for that purpoſe. As for my other affairs, I hope I ſhall be able to ſettle them myſelf: for I purpoſe to be in Italy, if the gods favour my voyage, about the 13th of November. In the mean time I conjure you, my amiable and excellent Terentia, and thou my deareſt Tullia, I conjure you both by all the tender regards you bear me, to take care of your healths. Farewel.

Athens, October the 18th.

LETTER XVII.

To TIRO[a].

I Did not imagine I ſhould have been ſo little able to ſupport your abſence: but indeed it is more than I can well bear. Accordingly not-

[a] He was a favourite ſlave of Cicero, who trained him up in his family, and formed him under his own immediate tuition. The probity of his manners, the elegance of his genius, and his uncommon erudition, recommended him to his maſter's peculiar eſteem and affection: of which the letters addreſſed to him in this collection, are a laſting and remarkable memorial. They are many of them written indeed in a ſtyle ſo different from the ordinary language of friendſhip, that they probably gave ſtrength and currency to a ſuſpicion highly diſadvantageous to Cicero's moral character. This imputation ſeems to have been firſt propagated by the ſon of the celebrated Aſinius Pollio: who in a treatiſe which he pub-

with-

withſtanding it is of the laſt importance to my A.U. 703.
intereſt [3] that I ſhould haſten to Rome, yet I cannot but ſeverely reproach myſelf for having thus deſerted you. However, as you ſeemed altogether averſe from purſuing your voyage till you ſhould re-eſtabliſh your health, I approved of your ſcheme: and I ſtill approve of it, if you continue in the ſame ſentiments. Nevertheleſs, if after having taken ſome refreſhment you ſhould think yourſelf in a condition to follow me; you may do ſo, or not, as you ſhall judge proper. If you ſhould determine in the affirmative, I have ſent Mario to attend you: if not, I have ordered him to return immediately. Be well aſſured, there is nothing I more ar-

liſhed in order to magnify his father's eloquence at the expence of Cicero's, inſerted a wanton ſonnet, which he pretended was compoſed by the latter on Tiro. But to ſpeak impartially, there does not ſeem from all that can be traced of Cicero's private conduct, the leaſt ſufficient evidence to charge him with having been infected with this execrable vice of his degenerate countrymen. In paſſing judgment therefore on theſe letters to Tiro, it ſhould be remembered that Cicero's temper was more than commonly warm: which infuſed a peculiar heat into all his expreſſions whether of friendſhip or of enmity. This, together with thoſe notions of amity which were carried by the antients in general ſo much higher than they have riſen in modern ages, may account perhaps for thoſe overflowings of tenderneſs which are ſo very obſervable in the letters to Tiro. *Aul. Gel.* xiii. 9. *Plin. Epiſt.* vii. 4.

[3] As Cicero was full of the hopes of obtaining a triumph, he was deſirous of haſtening to Rome before the diſſentions between Cæſar and Pompey ſhould be arrived at ſo great a height as to render it impoſſible for him to enjoy that honour.

dently

A.U. 703. dently desire than to have you with me, provided I may enjoy that pleasure without prejudice to yourself. But be assured too, that if your continuing somewhat longer at Patræ [4] should be thought necessary, I prefer your health to all other considerations. If you should embark immediately, you may overtake me at Leucas [5]. But if you are more inclined to defer your voyage till your recovery shall be better confirmed, let me intreat you to be very careful in chooſing a safe ship; and that you would neither sail at an improper season nor without a convoy. I particularly charge you also, my dear Tiro, by all the regard you bear me, not to suffer the arrival of Mario, or any thing that I have said in this letter, in the least to influence your resolution. Believe me, whatever will be most agreeable to your health, will be most agreeable likewise to my inclinations: and therefore I desire you would be wholly governed by your own prudence. 'Tis true, I am extremely desirous of your company,

[4] A city in Peloponnesus, which still subsists under the name of Patras. Cicero had left Tiro indisposed in this place, the day before the date of the present letter.

[5] A little Grecian island in the Ionian sea, now called Saint Maure. It was on this island that the celebrated promontory stood, from whence the tender Sappho is said to have thrown herself in a fit of amorous despair: and which the inimitable Addison has rendered still more celebrated by his ingenious papers on the *Lover's Leap*. See *Spect.* vol. 3. N°. 223, 233.

and of enjoying it as early as poſſible: but the A.U. 703.
ſame affection which makes me wiſh to ſee you ſoon, makes me wiſh to ſee you well. Let your health therefore be your firſt and principal care; aſſuring yourſelf, that among all the numberleſs good offices I have received at your hands, I ſhall eſteem this by far the moſt acceptable.

November the 3d.

LETTER XVIII.

To the Same.

I Cannot deſcribe to you (nor would I indeed if it were in my power) the uneaſy ſituation of my mind. I will only ſay, that your ſpeedy recovery and return to me will afford infinite ſatisfaction to both of us.

The third day after we parted brought me to this place [6]. It lies within a hundred and twenty ſtadia [7] of Leucas; where I promiſe myſelf that we ſhall meet: or at leaſt that I ſhall find Mario there with a letter from you. In the mean while, let me intreat you to be careful of your health in proportion to the mutual tenderneſs we bear towards each other. Farewel.

Alyzia, Nov. the 5th.

[6] Alyzia, a city of Acarnia in Greece.
[7] About 15 miles.

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LETTER XIX.

To the Same.

A.U. 703. I Diſpatched a letter to you yeſterday from this place, where I continued all that day in order to wait the arrival of my brother: and I write this before ſun-riſe, juſt as we are ſetting out. If you have any regard for us, but particularly for me, ſhew it by your care to reeſtabliſh your health. It is with great impatience I expect to meet you at Leucas: but if that cannot be; my next wiſh is, that I may find Mario there with a letter. We all of us indeed, but more eſpecially myſelf, earneſtly long to ſee you: however, we would by no means, my Tiro, indulge ourſelves in that pleaſure, unleſs it may be conſiſtent with your health. There is no neceſſity therefore of haſtening your journey, as there will be days enough to enjoy your company when once you ſhall be thoroughly recovered. I can eaſily indeed forego your ſervices: but your health, my dear Tiro, I would fain preſerve; for your own ſake in the firſt place, and in the next, for mine. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XX.

To the Same.

YOUR letter produced very different effects on my mind; as the latter part ſomewhat alleviated the concern which the former had occaſioned. I am now convinced that it will not be ſafe for you to proceed on your voyage, till your health ſhall be entirely re-eſtabliſhed: and I ſhall ſee you ſoon enough, if I ſee you perfectly recovered. A.U. 703.

I find by your letter that you have a good opinion of your phyſician: and I am told he deſerves it. However, I can by no means approve of the regimen he preſcribed: for broths cannot certainly be ſuitable to ſo weak a ſtomach. I have written to him very fully concerning you; as alſo to Lyſo. I have done the ſame likewiſe to my very obliging friend Curius: and have particularly requeſted him, if it ſhould be agreeable to yourſelf, that he would remove you into his houſe. I am apprehenſive indeed that Lyſo will not give you proper attendance: in the firſt place, becauſe careleſſneſs is the general characteriſtic of all his countrymen[8]; and in the

[8] The Grecians.

next,

A.U. 703. next, becauſe he has returned no anſwer to my letter. Nevertheleſs, as you mention him with eſteem, I leave it to you to continue with him, or not, juſt as you ſhall think proper. Let me only enjoin you, my dear Tiro, not to ſpare any expence that may be neceſſary towards your recovery. To this end, I have deſired Curius to ſupply you with whatever money you ſhall require: and I think it would be proper, in order to render your phyſician the more careful in his attendance, to make him ſome preſent.

Numberleſs are the ſervices I have received from you, both at home and abroad; in my public and my private tranſactions; in the courſe of my ſtudies and the concerns of my family. But would you crown them all? Let it be by your care that I may ſee you (as I hope I ſoon ſhall) perfectly recovered. If your health ſhould permit, I think you cannot do better than to take the opportunity of embarking with my quæſtor Meſcinius: for he is a good-natur'd man, and ſeems to have conceived a friendſhip for you. The care of your voyage indeed is the next thing I would recommend to you, after that of your health. However, I would now by no means have you hurry yourſelf; as my ſingle concern is for your recovery. Be aſſured, my dear Tiro, that all my friends are yours: and

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conſequently, as your health is of the greateſt im- A.U. 703.
portance to me as well as to yourſelf, there are numbers who are ſolicitous for its preſervation. Your aſſiduous attendance upon me has hitherto prevented you from paying due regard to it. But now that you are wholly at leiſure, I conjure you to devote all your application to that ſingle object: and I ſhall judge of the affection you bear me, by your compliance with this requeſt. Adieu, my dear Tiro, adieu! adieu! may you ſoon be reſtored to the perfect enjoyment of your health!

Lepta, together with all your other friends ſalute you. Farewel.

Leucas, Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXI.

To the Same.

THO' it was but an hour or two that you and I ſpent with Xenomenes at Thyreum*, yet he has conceived as ſtrong an affection for you as if he had converſed with you his whole life: ſo wonderfully engaging is my Tiro! Accordingly he has promiſed to aſſiſt you in all

* A city of Peloponneſus.

your

A.U. 703. your occaſions: and it is a promiſe, I am well perſuaded, he will punctually perform.

I ſhould be glad, if you find yourſelf better, that you would remove to Leucas, in order to perfect your recovery. Nevertheleſs, I would not have you change your preſent ſituation, without taking the ſentiments of Curius and Lyſo, together with thoſe of your phyſician.

I had ſome thoughts of ſending Mario back to you: whom you might return to me with a letter as ſoon as your health ſhould be ſomewhat mended. But I conſidered, that this would be only ſecuring the pleaſure of hearing from you once: whereas I hope to receive that ſatisfaction frequently. And if you have any regard for me, you may eaſily give it me, by ſending Acaſtus every day to the quay: where he cannot fail of meeting with many who will readily charge themſelves with conveying a letter to me. You may be aſſured in return, that I ſhall not ſuffer any opportunity to eſcape me of ſending a line or two by thoſe who are going to Patræ.

I rely entirely upon the care of Curius for your recovery: as nothing, I am ſure, can exceed either his friendſhip to myſelf, or his humanity in general. I deſire therefore you would be wholly reſigned to his direction. As I am willing

willing to ſacrifice the pleaſure of your company to the advantage of your health; I intreat you to have no other concern but what relates to your recovery: all the reſt, be aſſured, ſhall be mine. Again and again I bid you farewel.—I am this moment leaving Leucas. A.U. 703.

Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXII.

To the Same.

THIS is the third letter I have written to you, within theſe four-and-twenty hours: and I now take up my pen more in compliance with my uſual cuſtom, than as having any thing new to ſay. I can only repeat indeed what I have often requeſted, that you would proportion the care of your health to the affection you bear me. Yes, my Tiro, I conjure you to add this to the numberleſs good offices you have conferred upon me, as the moſt acceptable of them all. When you have taken, as I hope you will, all neceſſary meaſures for that purpoſe, my next deſire is, that you would uſe the proper precautions likewiſe to ſecure to yourſelf a ſafe voyage. In the mean time, you will not fail to write to me, as often as you ſhall meet with any perſon who is coming into Italy: as I ſhall take all occaſions of doing the

A.U. 705. ſame on my part, by thoſe who may be going to Patriæ. In one word, take care of yourſelf, my dear Tiro, I charge you: and ſince we have been thus prevented from purſuing our voyage together, there is no neceſſity for reſuming your's in haſte. Let it be your ſingle care to re-eſtabliſh your health. Again and again farewel.

Actium [1], Nov. the 7th, in the evening.

LETTER XXIII.

To the Same.

I Have been detained here [2] this whole week, by contrary winds: which have likewiſe confined my brother and his ſon at Buthrotum [3]. I am full of anxiety about your health, tho' by no means ſurpriſed at not hearing from you: as the ſame winds which delay my voyage, prevent the arrival of your letters.

Let me intreat you to exert your utmoſt care in regaining your health: and I hope as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year and your recovery ſhall render it convenient for you to embark, you will return to him who infinitely loves you. Your arrival will be impatiently expected by num-

[1] A city in Epirus.
[2] In Corcyra.
[3] A city in Epirus.

berleſs

berleſs others, as well as by myſelf: for all who bear any affection for me, are tender well-wiſhers to you. Again and again, my dear Tiro, I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewel. A.U. 703.

Corcyra, Nov. the 16th.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Same.

WE parted, you know, on the ſecond of November: on the ſixth I arrived at Leucas, from whence I reached Actium the following day. I was detained there by contrary winds till the next morning, when I ſailed for Corcyra; where I arrived on the ninth, after having had a very favourable paſſage. The weather proving extremely tempeſtuous, I was obliged to continue in that place till the ſixteenth; when I again proceeded on my voyage: and on the ſeventeenth, I entered the bay of Caſſiope, a maritime town in Corcyra, ſituated about an hundred and twenty ſtadia from my former port. Here the wind ſhifting, I was detained till the 23d. In the mean time, thoſe ſhips that had accompanied me thither, and were ſo impatient as immediately to put to ſea again, were many of them loſt. However, on the evening of the day I laſt

A.U. 703. mentioned, we weighed anchor: and having ſailed all that night and the next day with a fair gale from the ſouth and a very clear ſky, we gained with great eaſe the port of Hydruns in Italy.—The ſame wind carried us the following day, being the twenty-fifth, to Brundiſium. I was met at this place by Terentia, (who deſires me to aſſure you of her eſteem) and we entered the town together. On the twenty-ſeventh, a ſlave of Plancius arrived here with your very acceptable letter, dated the thirteenth of this month: which, tho' it did not entirely anſwer my wiſhes, contributed greatly to alleviate the uneaſineſs I was under upon your account. I had the ſatisfaction likewiſe of hearing at the ſame time from your phyſician: who confirms me in the hope, that you will ſoon be well.

And now, as I perfectly well know your prudence, your temperance, and the affection you bear me, can it be neceſſary that I ſhould intreat you to employ your utmoſt care to re-eſtabliſh your health? I am perſuaded indeed, you will do every thing in your power to return to me as ſoon as poſſible: however, I would by no means have you more expeditious than your ſtrength will bear. I am ſorry you accepted Lyſo's invitation to his concert; leſt your going abroad ſo ſoon ſhould occaſion a relapſe on the

fourth

fourth critical week [4]. But ſince you were willing to hazard your health rather than appear deficient in point of politeneſs, I hope you will guard againſt any ill conſequence that may attend your complaiſance. A.U. 703

I have written to Curius to requeſt he would make a proper acknowledgment to your phyſician, and ſupply you likewiſe with whatever money your occaſions ſhall require: which I will repay according to his order. You will find an horſe and a mule at Brundiſium, which I have left there for your ſervice. I am proceeding on my journey to Rome: where I expect to ſee great commotions upon the entrance of the new conſuls into their office [5]. However, it is my reſolution not to engage in the violent meaſures of either party.

[4] The antients entertained a variety of ſuperſtitious notions concerning the myſtical power of numbers, particularly the number of ſeven, with its ſeveral multiplications and diviſions. Cicero in one of his philoſophical treatiſes, calls this number *rerum omnium fere nodus:* and it is to its particular influence with regard to the criſis of diſtempers, that he alludes in the preſent paſſage. Macrobius has retailed abundance of abſurd learning in relation to this wonder-working number, which he concludes with the following reflection: *Unde non immerito hic numerus totius fabricæ diſpenſator & dominus, ægris quoque corporibus periculum ſanitatemve denuntiat.* This opinion, however, is not altogether inconſiſtent with a more improved philoſophy: and experience ſhews, that the 7th, the 14th, &c. days, are frequently attended with certain determining ſymptoms in the progreſs of acute diſeaſes. *Macrob. in Somn. Scip.* i. 6.

[5] The conſuls entered upon their office on the firſt day of the new year.

A.U. 703. I have only to add my moſt earneſt requeſt, that you would not embark without taking all prudent precautions to ſecure a ſafe voyage. The maſters of ſhips, I know, who are governed entirely by their hopes of gain, are always in haſte to ſail. But I intreat you, my dear Tiro, not to be too hazardous: and remember that you have a wide and dangerous ſea to traverſe. I ſhould be glad you would, if poſſible, take your paſſage with Meſcinius: who is never diſpoſed to run any imprudent riſks in expeditions of this kind. But if your health ſhould not permit you to embark ſo ſoon, let me deſire you would look out for ſome other companion in your voyage, whoſe public character may give him an authority with the commander of your ſhip. In a word, you cannot more effectually oblige me, than by exerting your utmoſt care to return to me ſafe and well. Again, and again, my dear Tiro, I bid you adieu.

I have recommended you in the ſtrongeſt terms to the care both of Curius and Lyſo, as well as of your phyſician. Adieu.

LET-

LETTERS
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero
TO
Several of his FRIENDS.

BOOK VII.

LETTER I.

To TIRO.

NOtwithſtanding that I feel the want of your ſervices, in every place and upon all occaſions; yet, be aſſured, your illneſs gives me far leſs concern on my own account, than on yours. However, ſince it has terminated, as Curius informs me, in a quartan ague; I hope, if you are not wanting in proper care, that it will prove a means of more firmly A.U. 704.

A.U. 704. bliſhing your [1] health. Be ſo juſt then to the regard you owe me, as not to ſuffer any other concern to employ your thoughts but what relates to your recovery. I am ſenſible at the ſame time, how much you ſuffer from this abſence: but believe me, all will be well, whenever you are ſo. I would by no means therefore have you in ſo much haſte to return to me, as to expoſe yourſelf to the dangers of a winter-voyage; nor indeed to the dangers of a ſea-ſickneſs, before you ſhall have ſufficiently recovered your ſtrength.

I arrived in the ſuburbs [2] of Rome on the fourth of January: and nothing could be more to my honour, than the manner in which I was met on my approach to the city. But I am unhappily fallen into the very midſt of public diſſention, or rather indeed, I find myſelf ſurrounded with the flames of a civil war. It was my earneſt deſire to have compoſed theſe danger-

[1] A quartan ague was ſuppoſed by the antients, to be extremely ſalutary in its conſequences. Aulus Gellius mentions a contemporary orator and philoſopher, who wrote a ſerious panegyric upon this wholeſome diſtemper: wherein he ſupported his opinion upon the authority of a paſſage in ſome writings of Plato, which are now loſt. *Noct. Att.* xvii. 12.

[2] As Cicero claimed the honour of a triumph, he was obliged, till his pretenſions ſhould be determined; to take up his reſidence without the walls of the city: agreeably to a cuſtom which has been frequently mentioned in the preceding obſervations.

ous

ous ferments: and I probably might, if the passions of some in both parties, who are equally eager for war, had not rendered my endeavours ineffectual. My friend Cæsar has written a very warm and menacing letter to the senate[3]. He has the assurance, notwithstanding their express prohibition, to continue at the head of his army and in the government of his province: to which very extraordinary measures, he has been instigated by Curio. The latter, in conjunction with Quintus Cassius and Mark Antony, without the least violence having been offered to them[4], have withdrawn themselves to A.U. 704.

[3] The purport of Cæsar's letter was, that he declared himself willing to resign his command, provided Pompey did the same; but if this were not complied with, that he would immediately march into Italy, and revenge the injuries done both to himself and to the liberties of the republic. *Appian. Bel. Civ.* ii.

[4] The letter mentioned in the last note was received by the senate with great indignation, and considered as an open declaration of war. Accordingly they voted, that if Cæsar did not resign his command by a certain day named in their decree for that purpose, he should be deemed an enemy to his country. This decree was protested against by Curio, Quintus Cassius Longinus, and Mark Antony, in virtue of their prerogative as tribunes of the people: and while the senate were deliberating in what manner to punish the authors of this protest, they were advised by the consul Lentulus, to withdraw before any decree against them had actually passed. Perhaps this is all that Cicero means when he asserts, that "no violence had been offered to these tribunes:" for otherwise his assertion would be contradicted by the unanimous testimony of all the antient historians. *Appian. Bel. Civil.* ii. *Cæsar. Bel. Civil.* i. 5, *Dio.* xli. *p.* 153.

Cæsar.

A.U. 704. Cæſar. They took this ſtep immediately after the ſenate had given it in charge to the conſuls [5], the prætors, and the tribunes of the people, together with thoſe of us who are inveſted with proconſular power, to take care of the intereſts of the republic [6]. And never, in truth, were our liberties in more imminent danger: as thoſe who are diſaffected to the commonwealth, never were headed by a chief more capable, or better prepared to ſupport them. We are raiſing forces with all poſſible diligence, under the authority and with the aſſiſtance of Pompey: who now begins, ſomewhat too late I fear, to be apprehenſive of Cæſar's power. In the midſt however of theſe alarming commotions, the ſenate demanded in a very full houſe, that a triumph ſhould be immediately decreed to me. But the conſul Lentulus, in order to appropriate to himſelf a greater ſhare in conferring this honour, told them, that he would propoſe it himſelf in proper form, as ſoon as he ſhould have diſpatched the affairs that were neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture. In the mean time, I act with great

[5] The conſuls of this year were Clodius Marcellus, and Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

[6] By this decree the magiſtrates therein named, were inveſted with a diſcretionary power of acting as they ſhould judge proper in the preſent exigency of public affairs: a decree, to which the ſenate never had recourſe but in caſes of the utmoſt danger and diſtreſs. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* i. 5.

moderation: and this conduct renders my in- A.U. 704.
fluence with both parties ſo much the ſtronger. The ſeveral diſtricts of Italy are aſſigned to our reſpective protections; and Capua is the department I have taken for mine.

I thought it proper to give you this general information of public affairs: to which I will only add my requeſt, that you would take care of your health, and write to me by every opportunity. Again and again I bid you farewel.

Jan. the 12th.

LETTER II.

To Rufus[1].

I Should have uſed my utmoſt endeavours to have given you a meeting, if you had continued in your reſolution of going to the place you firſt appointed: and tho' you were willing to ſpare me that trouble, yet be aſſured I ſhould upon the leaſt notice have ſhewn you, that I prefer your convenience to my own.

[1] Lucius Meſcinius Rufus, the perſon to whom this letter is addreſſed, was quæſtor to Cicero in Cilicia. His conduct in that office ſeems to have given occaſion to the character we find of him in the letters to Atticus: where he is repreſented as a man of great levity, and of a moſt debauched and avaricious turn of mind. *Ad Att.* vi. 3.

If

A.U. 704. If my ſecretary Marcus Tullius were not abſent, I ſhould be able to ſend you a more explicit anſwer to your letter. This however I will aſſure you, that with regard to exhibiting the accounts [2] you mention, (for I will not venture to be ſo poſitive as to any other inſtance) he has not intentionally taken any ſtep injurious either to your intereſt or your reputation. As to my own ſhare in this tranſaction; had the law formerly obſerved in matters of this kind been ſtill in force, I ſhould not, moſt certainly, have laid my accounts before the treaſury, without having, agreeably to thoſe connections that ſubſiſt between us [3], previouſly examined and adjuſted them with you. But the antient uſage in theſe caſes being now ſuperſeded by the Julian law [4], which obliged me to leave a ſtated account in the province, and exhibit an exact copy of it to the treaſury; I paid you that compliment in Cilicia, which I ſhould otherwiſe have paid you at Rome. Nor did I at that time by any means endeavour to controle your accounts by mine; on the contrary, I made

[2] Theſe were Cicero's accounts relating to the public expences of his government in Cilicia: in which there ſeems to have been articles inſerted not altogether favourable to the reputation of Rufus as quæſtor, and which he was deſirous therefore ſhould have been altered or ſuppreſſed, before they had been delivered into the treaſury at Rome.

[3] As proconſul and quæſtor.

[4] See p. 38 of this vol.

conceſſions

conceſſions to you, of which, I dare ſay, you will never give me reaſon to repent. The fact is, I reſigned my ſecretary (whoſe conduct you now, it ſeems, ſuſpect) entirely to your directions: and it was Tullius together with your brother, (who you deſired might be joined with him) that ſettled theſe accounts with you in my abſence. I concerned myſelf indeed no farther than juſt to caſt my eye over them: and I conſidered the copy which I thus received from my ſecretary, as coming immediately from your brother's own hand. In this whole tranſaction, I have treated you with all poſſible reſpect and confidence: and it was not in my power to have employed a perſon to make up theſe accounts, who would have been more cautious than my ſecretary that nothing ſhould appear to your diſadvantage. That I have paid a neceſſary obedience to the Julian law, by depoſiting a copy of my ſtated accounts in the two principal cities of the province; is moſt certain. But tho' I had many reaſons for being deſirous of paſſing them as expeditiouſly as poſſible; yet I ſhould have waited your return to Rome, had I not conſidered their being thus depoſited in the province, as juſt the ſame thing with reſpect to you, as if they had been actually carried into the treaſury at Rome. A.U. 704.

As

A.U. 904. As to the article you mention relating to Voluſius; it could by no means be inſerted in the account. For I am informed by thoſe who are converſant in buſineſs of this kind, particularly by my moſt judicious friend Camillus, that Voluſius cannot ſtand charged with the ſum in queſtion inſtead of Valerius [5]; but that the ſureties of the latter are neceſſarily liable to the payment of this debt. It amounts however to no more than nineteen thouſand ſeſterces [6], and not to thirty thouſand [7], as you ſtate it in your letter. For I had recovered part of it from Valerius: and it is only the remainder that I have charged. But you are unwilling, it ſhould ſeem, to allow me the credit of having acted upon this occaſion either with generoſity in regard to my friends, or (what indeed I leſs value myſelf upon) even with common caution with reſpect to myſelf. Why elſe ſhould you ſuppoſe, that my lieutenant and præfect owe it to my ſecretary ra-

[5] The nature of this affair concerning Valerius and Voluſius, is utterly inexplicable; as it refers to a tranſaction of which we know neither the full circumſtances, nor the particular laws to which it relates. Vain therefore would be the taſk of retailing the ſeveral opinions of the commentators upon this and the following paſſages, or the attempt to clear them up by any additional conjectures: as it is better to remain quietly in the dark, than to blunder about in queſt of a light which is no where to be found.

[6] About 152l. ſterling.

[7] About 240l. ſterling.

ther

ther than to myſelf, that they are eaſed of a very ſevere, and, in truth, a very unconſcionable burthen? And why elſe ſhould you imagine me ſo negligent in a point wherein both my duty and intereſt were equally and greatly concerned, as to ſuffer my ſecretary to ſettle this account juſt as he thought proper, without requiring him even to read it over to me? In ſhort, tho' I flatter myſelf that I have taken no imprudent meaſures in this buſineſs, yet you will not believe me, it ſeems, that I have beſtowed upon it even a ſingle thought. The truth, however, is, that the ſcheme of throwing off this debt from Voluſius, was entirely my own: as I am endeavouring likewiſe to diſcharge the ſureties of Valerius, and even Marius himſelf, from ſo ſevere a penalty. And I have the ſatisfaction to find this my deſign, not only generally approved, but applauded: tho' to tell you the whole truth, it is not, I perceive, greatly reliſhed by my ſecretary. Nevertheleſs, I thought it the duty of an honeſt man to ſpare the fortunes of ſuch numbers of his friends and fellow-citizens, when he could do ſo, without prejudicing the public intereſt. A.U. 704.

In regard to what you mention concerning Lucceius; I have acknowledged, that the money was depoſited in the temple by my orders, in purſuance of Pompey's advice. The latter has received

A.U. 704. received this ſum for the public uſe [8]: as Seſtius poſſeſſed himſelf of that which you had depoſited in the ſame place. I am very ſenſible, that this is an affair in which you are in no ſort concerned. However, I ſhould be extremely ſorry, that I omitted to particulariſe this circumſtance, if it did not moſt authentically appear by the decree of the ſenate, and by the letters which paſſed between us, for whoſe uſe it was delivered into the hands of Seſtius. It was the notoriety of this fact, and the certainty that it was of no importance to you, which prevented me from making particular mention of it. But ſince you wiſh that I had, I wiſh ſo too. I agree with you in thinking that it is proper you ſhould inſert this article into your accounts. Nor will they by that mean appear in the leaſt inconſiſtent with mine: as you will only add what I omitted, and vouch my expreſs orders. I have no reaſon moſt certainly to deny them: nor ſhould I indeed, if I had, when you deſired the contrary.

As to the nine hundred thouſand ſeſterces [9]; they are ſpecified in the manner that you, or your brother at leaſt, required. And if there is

[8] For the purpoſes perhaps of the war which he was now preparing to carry on againſt Cæſar.

[9] About 7263 l. of our money.

any

any item in reſpect to my lieutenant which you are diſſatisfied with, and which (after having renounced the privilege I was entitled to by the decree of the ſenate [10]) it is in my power to rectify; I will endeavour to do ſo as far as I legally may [11]. In the mean time be well aſſured, I ſhall take no ſtep in this affair, if I can poſſibly avoid it, that may prove inconſiſtent either with your intereſt, or your inclination. A.U. 704.

In anſwer to your inquiry concerning my honorary liſt [12]; I muſt acquaint you, that I have only delivered in the names of my præfects and

[10] It ſeems probable from this paſſage, that there was ſome decree of the ſenate which indulged the proconſuls with a longer time for bringing in their accounts, than they were entitled to by the law: which privilege Cicero thought proper to wave. *Manutius.*

[11] There is a paſſage in the original between this and the next ſentence, which is omitted in the tranſlation. It runs thus: *Tu certe pecunia* exacta *ita* efferre *ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit, niſi quid me fallit: ſunt enim alii peritiores.* The principal difficulty of this period lies in the words *exacta* and *efferre:* which the commentators have endeavoured to remove by various readings, and conjectures. But as neither their readings nor conjectures offer any thing ſatisfactory, I leave it to the explanation of ſome more ſucceſsful interpreter; applauding in the mean time the modeſty of Grævius, who cloſes his remark upon this place with the following ingenuous acknowledgment, ſo unuſual in a critic by profeſſion: *Nihil in re tam obſcura definio,* ſays he, *nec mihi ipſe ſatisfacio.*

[12] The proconſuls upon their return to Rome after the expiration of their provincial miniſtry, uſed to preſent a liſt of ſuch of their officers and attendants, who had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and fidelity in their reſpective functions. *Manutius.*

A.U. 704. military tribunes, together with thoſe who attended me as proconſular companions [13]. I had conceived a notion, that no certain time was limited for this purpoſe: but I have ſince been informed, that it is neceſſary to preſent this liſt within thirty days after exhibiting the accounts. I am ſorry you had not the benefit of paying this compliment; as I have no ambitious views to ſerve by taking it upon myſelf. But it is ſtill open to you, with reſpect to the centurions and the companions of the military tribunes: the law not having fixed any time for preſenting a liſt of that ſort.

I have nothing farther, I think, to obſerve upon your letter, except in relation to the hundred thouſand ſeſterces [14]. I remember you wrote to me upon this ſubject before, in a letter dated from Myrina [15], and acknowledged it to be an error of your own: tho' if there be any error in the caſe, it ſeems rather chargeable on your brother and my ſecretary. But be that as it will, the miſtake was diſcovered too late to be corrected: for I had then quitted the province

[13] Theſe were generally young noblemen who attended the proconſul into his government as a ſort of volunteers, in order to gain experience and acquaint themſelves with buſineſs. *Manutius.*

[14] About 800 l.

[15] A maritime city in Æolia, a province of Aſia.

and

and depoſited my accounts. I believe therefore A.U. 704.
that the anſwer I returned, was agreeable to the diſpoſition in which I always ſtand towards you, and to thoſe hopes I had then conceived of my finances. I do not however remember that I carried my complaiſance ſo far, as to make myſelf your debtor for that ſum; any more than I imagine that you intended this part of your letter as one of thoſe importunate memorials, ſo frequent in theſe times of general diſtreſs. You will conſider, that I left in the hands of the farmers of the revenues at Epheſus, all the money which legally accrued to me from my government: and that this whole ſum, amounting to no leſs than two millions two hundred thouſand ſeſterces [16], was ſeized for the uſe of Pompey. Whatever effect this great loſs may have upon me; I am ſure you ought not to be diſcompoſed at yours: and you ſhould only look upon it as a diſh the leſs at your table, or an inconſiderable diminution of what you might

[16] One may judge from hence what immenſe wealth thoſe rapacious governors of the Roman provinces acquired, who did not ſcruple to oppreſs the people committed to their charge, by every method of extortion that avarice could ſuggeſt. For Cicero, who profeſſed to conduct himſelf with the moſt exemplary diſintereſtedneſs in his province, was yet able, it appears, to acquire ſo large a ſum in a ſingle year as about 17600 l. of our money; and that too from a province by no means the moſt conſiderable of the republic's dominions.

A.U. 704. otherwiſe have expected from my liberality. But had you actually advanced theſe hundred thouſand ſeſterces to me out of your own purſe, yet, to be ſure, you are too complaiſant to inſiſt upon a ſecurity: and as to paying them, were I ever ſo well diſpoſed for that purpoſe, you muſt know it is not in my power.—You ſee I anſwer you in the ſame ſpirit of pleaſantry, in which I ſuppoſe that part of your letter was written to which this refers. But to be ſerious: if you think that Tullius can be of any ſervice to you in this affair, I will ſend him as ſoon as he returns from the country.----I have no objection to your deſtroying this letter when you ſhall have read it. Farewel.

LETTER III.

To Terentia and to Tullia.

IN what manner it may be proper to diſpoſe of yourſelves during the preſent conjuncture, is a queſtion which muſt now be decided by your own judgments as much as by mine. Should Cæſar advance to Rome without committing hoſtilities, you may certainly, for the preſent at leaſt, remain there unmoleſted: but if this madman ſhould give up the city to the rapine of his ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, I muſt doubt whether even Dolabella's credit and authority will be ſufficient to protect you. I am under ſome apprehenſion likewiſe, leſt whilſt you are deliberating in what manner to act, you ſhould find yourſelves ſo ſurrounded with the army as to render it impoſſible to withdraw, tho' you ſhould be ever ſo much inclined. The next queſtion is (and it is a queſtion which you yourſelves are beſt able to determine) whether any ladies of your rank venture to continue in the city: if not, will it be conſiſtent with your character to appear ſingular in that point? But be that as it will, you cannot, I think, as affairs are now ſituated, be more commodiouſly placed, than either with me or at ſome of our farms in this diſtrict: ſuppoſing, I mean, that I ſhould be able to maintain my preſent poſt. I muſt add likewiſe, that a ſhort time, 'tis to be feared, will produce a great ſcarcity in Rome. However, I ſhould be glad you would take the ſentiments of Atticus, or Camillus, or any other friend whom you may chooſe to conſult upon this ſubject. In the mean while let me conjure you both, to keep up your ſpirits. The coming over of Labienus [1]

A.U. 704.

[1] Labienus was one of Cæſar's principal and moſt favourite lieutenants in Gaul: where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military conduct. The Pompeian party therefore were

A.U. 704. to our party, has given affairs a much better aſpect. And Piſo having withdrawn himſelf from the city, is likewiſe another very favourable circumſtance: as it is a plain indication, that he diſapproves the impious meaſures of his ſon-in-law [2].

I intreat you, my deareſt creatures, to write to me as frequently as poſſible, and let me know how it is with you, as well as what is going forward in Rome. My brother and nephew, together with Ruſus, affectionately ſalute you. Farewel.

Minturnæ [3], Jan. the 25th.

very aſſiduous in their applications to gain him over to their cauſe; as they promiſed themſelves great advantages from his acceſſion. But none however appears to have attended it: and he who in Cæſar's camp had been eſteemed a very conſiderable officer, ſeemed to have loſt all his credit the moment he went over to Pompey's.

——— *Fortis in armis*
Cæſaris Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.
Hirt. Bel. Gal. viii. 52. *Ad At.* viii. 2. *Lucan.* v. 345.

[2] Cicero, as has been obſerved in a former note, has painted the character of Piſo in the darkeſt and moſt odious colours. But ſatires and invectives are not generally the moſt faithful memoirs: and it is evident from Piſo's conduct upon this occaſion, that he was by no means what our author repreſents him in one of his orations, *portentum & pæne funus reipublicæ*; at leaſt if Cæſar's meaſures were really more unfavourable to liberty than thoſe of Pompey. See vol. i. p. 37. rem. 2.

[3] A town in Campania. This letter in ſome of the Latin editions bears date in July, in others no month is ſpecified. But it was undoubtedly written in January: as it appears by a letter to Atticus, that Cicero's wife and daughter came to him at Formiæ on the 2d of February. *Ad At.* vii. 18.

LET-

LETTER IV.

To the Same.

IT well deſerves conſideration, whether it will be more prudent for you to continue in Rome, or to remove to ſome ſecure place within my department: and it is a conſideration, my deareſt creatures, in which your own judgments muſt aſſiſt mine. What occurs to my preſent thoughts, is this. On the one hand, as you will probably find a ſafe protection [4] in Dolabella, your reſiding in Rome may prove a mean of ſecuring our houſe from being plundered; ſhould the ſoldiers be ſuffered to commit any violences of that kind. But on the other, when I reflect that all the worthier part of the republic have withdrawn themſelves and their families from the city; I am inclined to adviſe you to follow their example. I muſt add likewiſe, that there are ſeveral towns in this canton of Italy under my command, which are particularly in our intereſt: as alſo, that great part of our eſtate lies in the ſame diſtrict. A.U. 704.

4 This epiſtle ſeems to have been a ſort of duplicate of the former: and tho' it is dated from a different place, it was probably written on the ſame day, and conveyed by ſome unexpected opportunity that occurred after he had diſpatched the foregoing.

A.U. 704. If therefore you ſhould remove hither, you may not only very frequently be with me, but whenever we ſhall be obliged to ſeparate, you may be ſafely lodged at one or other of my farms. However, I am utterly unable to determine at preſent, which of theſe ſchemes is preferable: only let me intreat you to obſerve what ſteps other ladies of your rank purſue in this conjuncture; and be cautious likewiſe that you be not prevented from retiring, ſhould it prove your choice. In the mean time, I hope you will maturely deliberate upon this point between yourſelves; and take the opinion alſo of our friends. At all events, I deſire you would direct Philotimus to procure a ſtrong guard to defend our houſe: to which requeſt I muſt add, that you would engage a proper number of regular couriers, in order to give me the ſatisfaction of hearing from you every day. But above all, let me conjure you both, to take care of your healths as you wiſh to preſerve mine. Farewel.

Formiæ [1] the 25th.

[1] A maritime city in Campania, not far from Minturnæ; the place from whence the preceding letter is dated.

LET-

LETTER V.

TO TIRO.

YOU will eaſily judge of our diſtreſs when I tell you, that myſelf and every friend of the republic, have abandoned Rome, and even our country, to all the cruel devaſtations of fire and ſword. Our affairs indeed are in ſo deſperate a ſituation, that nothing leſs than the powerful interpoſition of ſome favourable divinity, or ſome happy turn of chance, can ſecure us from utter ruin. It has been the perpetual purpoſe of all my ſpeeches, my votes and my actions, ever ſince I returned to Rome, to preſerve the public tranquility. But an invincible rage for war had unaccountably ſeized not only the enemies, but even thoſe who are eſteemed the friends of the commonwealth: and it was in vain I remonſtrated, that nothing was more to be dreaded than a civil war. Cæſar, in the mean time, unmindful of his former character and honours, and driven, it ſhould ſeem, by a ſort of phrenzy, has taken poſſeſſion of Ariminum, Piſaurum, Ancona, and Arretum. In conſequence of this, we have all deſerted the city: but how prudently or how heroically, it now avails not to examine. A.U. 704.

A.U. 704. examine [1]. Thus you ſee our wretched ſituation! Cæſar however has offered us the following conditions: in the firſt place, that Pompey ſhall retire to his government in Spain; in the next, that the army we have raiſed ſhall be diſbanded, and our garriſons evacuated. Upon theſe terms he promiſes to deliver up the farther Gaul into the hands of Domitius, and the nearer into thoſe of Conſidius Nonianus: the perſons to whom theſe provinces have been reſpectively allotted. He farther engages to reſign his right of ſuing for the conſulſhip in his abſence, and is willing to return to Rome in order to appear as a candidate in the regular form [2]. We have accepted theſe propoſitions, provided he withdraws his forces from the ſeveral towns above

[1] So long as Cæſar kept himſelf within the limits of his province, Pompey treated his deſigns of invading Italy, with the utmoſt contempt. But Cæſar had no ſooner paſſed the Rubicon, and poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe ſeveral towns mentioned in this letter, than it appeared that Pompey was utterly unprepared to oppoſe him. Accordingly, he withdrew from Rome into the more ſouthern parts of Italy with great precipitation, in order, as he pretended, to aſſemble the troops in thoſe quarters. But his real intention ſeems to have been, to retreat gradually to Brundiſium: and from thence to draw the war into Greece. The probable reaſon of this conduct will be explained in a ſubſequent note. See rem. 4. on let. 13. of this book, p. 130. *Ad At.* vii. 8. *Dio*, xli.

[2] In the original it is, *ſe præſentem trinundinum petiturum*. Manutius conjectures from this expreſſion, that it was uſual to proclaim the names of the candidates on three market days: at which time the candidates themſelves, it is probable, were required to be preſent.

mentioned,

mentioned, that the ſenate may ſecurely aſſemble themſelves at Rome in order to paſs a decree for that purpoſe [3]. If he ſhould think proper to comply with this propoſal: there are hopes of peace; not indeed of a very honourable one, as the terms are impoſed upon us: yet any thing is preferable to our preſent circumſtances. But if he ſhould refuſe to ſtand to his overtures; we are prepared for an engagement: but an engagement which Cæſar, after having incurred the general odium of retracting his own conditions, will ſcarce be able to ſuſtain [4]. The only difficulty will be, to intercept his march to Rome. And this we have a proſpect of effecting, as we have raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops: and we imagine that he will ſcarce venture to advance leſt he ſhould loſe the two Gauls; every part of thoſe provinces, excepting only the Tranſpadani, being utterly averſe to him. There are likewiſe A.U. 704.

[3] The expreſſion in the text is ſomewhat ambiguous: *ut ſine metu de iis conditionibus Roma ſenatus haberi poſſit.* But the ſenſe is determined by the following paſſage in a letter to Atticus; where ſpeaking of theſe propoſals of Cæſar and of the terms upon which they were accepted, he adds: *id ſi feciſſet* (ſc. Cæſar) *reſponſum eſt ad urbem nos redituros eſſe & rem per ſenatum confecturos. Ad At.* vii. 14.

[4] The favourable proſpect which Cicero gives in this and the following paſſages of the ſenate's affairs, is ſo little conſiſtent with the deſpondency he expreſſes in the former part of this letter, that one would be apt to ſuſpect they were two diſtinct epiſtles, which ſome negligent tranſcriber had blended together.

ſix

A.U. 704. ſix of our legions from Spain commanded by Afranius and Petreius, and ſupported by a very powerful body of auxiliaries, that lie in his rear. In ſhort, if he ſhould be ſo mad as to approach, there is great probability of his being defeated, if we can but preſerve Rome from falling into his hands. It has given a very conſiderable blow to his cauſe, that Labienus, who had great credit in his army, refuſed to be an aſſociate with him in his impious enterprize [5]. This illuſtrious perſon has not only deſerted Cæſar, but joined himſelf with us: and it is ſaid, that many others of the ſame party intend to follow his example.

I have ſtill under my protection, all the coaſt that extends itſelf from Formiæ. I did not chooſe to enter more deeply at preſent into the oppoſition againſt Cæſar; that my exhortations in order to engage him to an accommodation, might be attended with the greater weight. If war however muſt, after all, be our lot; it will be impoſſible for me, I perceive, to decline the command of ſome part of our forces [6]. To this uneaſy reflection, I muſt add another: my ſon-in-law Dolabella has taken party with Cæſar.

[5] See rem. 1. on let. 3. of this book, p. 101.

[6] This however Cicero contrived to avoid: and tho' after much heſitation, he followed Pompey into Greece, he would accept of no command in his army, nor was he preſent at any engagement.

I was

I was willing to give you this general infor- A.U. 704.
mation of public affairs: but ſuffer it not, I charge you, to make impreſſions upon your mind to the diſadvantage of your health. I have ſtrongly recommended you to Aulus Varro: whoſe diſpoſition to ſerve you, as well as whoſe particular friendſhip to myſelf, I have thoroughly experienced. I have intreated him to be careful both of your health and of your voyage, and in a word, to receive you intirely under his protection. I have full confidence that he will comply with my requeſt as he gave me his promiſe for that purpoſe in the moſt obliging manner.

As I could not enjoy the ſatisfaction of your company at a ſeaſon when I moſt wanted your faithful ſervices; I beg you would not now haſten your return, nor undertake your voyage either during the winter, or before you are perfectly recovered. For be aſſured, I ſhall not think I ſee you too late, if I ſee you ſafe and well. I have heard nothing of you, ſince the letter I received by Marcus Voluſius: but indeed I do not wonder at it, as I imagine the ſeverity of the winter has likewiſe prevented my letters from reaching your hands. Take care of yourſelf, I conjure you, and do not fail till your health and the ſeaſon ſhall be favourable.

A.U. 704. favourable. My ſon is at Formiæ: but Terentia and Tullia are ſtill at Rome. Farewel.

Capua, January the 29th.

LETTER VI.

QUINTUS CICERO[7] to TIRO.

YOUR ill ſtate of health occaſions us great uneaſineſs: for tho' we have the ſatisfaction to hear that it is not attended with any dangerous ſymptoms; yet we are informed that your cure muſt be the work of time. But we cannot think without much concern of being longer ſeparated from one, whoſe agreeable com-

[7] The brother of our author, Quintus Cicero, after having paſſed thro' the office of prætor in the year of Rome 692, was elected governor of Aſia: where he preſided three years with little credit. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Gaul as one of Cæſar's lieutenants: but at the breaking out of the civil war, he followed the fortune of Pompey. However, after the battle of Pharſalia he made his peace with Cæſar: and returned into Italy. He appears to have been of an haughty, imperious, petulant temper: and in every view of his character, altogether unamiable. But what gives it a caſt of peculiar darkneſs, is his conduct towards Cicero: whom he endeavoured to prejudice in the opinion of Cæſar, at a time when they were both the ſupplicants of his clemency. This, as far as can be collected from the letters to Atticus, was an inſtance of the baſeſt and moſt aggravated ingratitude. For whatever Cicero's failings might be in other reſpects, he ſeems to have had none with regard to Quintus, but that of loving him with a tenderneſs he ill deſerved. *Ad At.* i. 15. vi. 6. xi. 8.

pany we learn to value by the regret we feel at his abſence. However, notwithſtanding I wiſh moſt earneſtly to ſee you; yet I conjure you not to undertake ſo long a voyage till the ſeaſon and your health ſhall render it ſafe. A tender conſtitution can ill defend itſelf againſt the ſeverity of the weather, even when ſheltered under the covert of a warm roof; much leſs when expoſed to all the inclemencies both of ſea and land. A.U. 704.

Foes to the weak are chilling blaſts ſevere:

as Euripides [8] aſſures us. What credit you may give to that divine poet, I know not: but for myſelf, I look upon his verſes, as ſo many indubitable maxims. In ſhort, if you have any value for me, endeavour the re-eſtabliſhment of your health; that you may as ſoon as poſſible return to us perfectly recovered. Farewel: and continue to love me.—My ſon ſalutes you.

[8] A celebrated Greek dramatic poet: whoſe death is ſaid to have been occaſioned by exceſſive joy for having obtained the poetic prize at the Olympic games. He flouriſhed about 400 years before the chriſtian æra.

LET-

LETTER VII.

MARCUS COELIUS to CICERO.

A.U. 704. WAS there ever a more abſurd mortal than your friend Pompey, to act in ſo trifling a manner after having raiſed ſuch terrible commotions? Let me aſk, on the other hand, whether you ever heard or read of a general, more undaunted in action, or more generous in victory, than our illuſtrious Cæſar? Look upon his troops, my friend, and tell me whether one would not imagine by the gaiety of their countenances, that inſtead of having fought their way thro' the ſevereſt climates in the moſt inclement ſeaſon, they had been regaling themſelves in all the delicacies of eaſe and plenty! And now, will you not think that I am immoderately elated? The truth of it is, if you knew the diſquietude of my heart, you would laugh at me for thus glorying in advantages in which I have no ſhare. But I cannot explain this to you till we meet: which I hope will be very ſpeedily. For it was Cæſar's intention to order me to Rome, as ſoon as he ſhould have driven Pompey out of Italy: and this, I imagine, he has already

dy effected; unleſs the latter ſhould chooſe to A.U. 704.
ſuffer a blockade in Brundiſium.

My principal reaſon for wiſhing to be at Rome, is in order to pour forth the fulneſs of my heart before you: for full, believe me, it is. And yet the joy of ſeeing you, may, perhaps, make me, as uſual, forget all my complaints, and baniſh from my thoughts whatever I intended to ſay. In the mean while, I am obliged (as a puniſhment, I ſuppoſe, for my ſins) to march back towards the Alps. I am indebted for this agreeable expedition, to a fooliſh inſurrection of the Intemelii [2]. Bellienus, whoſe mother was a ſlave in the family of Demetrius, and who commands the garriſon there, was bribed by the oppoſite faction to ſeize and ſtrangle a certain nobleman of that place, called Domitius: a perſon connected with Cæſar by the rites of hoſpitality [3].

[2] The inhabitants of Intemelium: a maritime city in Liguria, now called Vintimiglia, in the territories of Genoa.

[3] Hoſpitality was conſidered from the earlieſt ages, as in the number of the primary ſocial duties. The ſacred hiſtorian has recorded a remarkable inſtance of this kind, in the ſtory of Lot: who would rather have ſacrificed his own daughters to the flagitious demands of his infamous fellow-citizens, than give up the ſuppoſed travellers whom he had invited to reſt *under the ſhadow of his roof*. Agreeably to this Eaſtern practice, Homer frequently inculcates the maxim, that ſtrangers are to be received as gueſts from heaven:

προς γαρ Διος εισιν απαντες
Ξεινοι.

A.U. 704. The citizens in reſentment of this outrage have taken up arms: and I have the mortification to be commanded to march thither thro' a deep ſnow, with four cohorts, in order to quell them. Surely the Domitii are a curſe where-ever they exiſt. I wiſh at leaſt that our heaven-deſcended [4] chief had acted like this

And Horace mentions the hoſpitable connection, among thoſe of neareſt and moſt tender regard:

Quo ſit amore parens, quo frater amandus & hoſpes.

It will appear by ſeveral paſſages in the following letters, that this generous virtue ſubſiſted among the Romans, when every other was almoſt utterly extinct. The cuſtom indeed of receiving ſtrangers was ſo generally eſtabliſhed, that travellers were ſcarce ever reduced to the neceſſity of taking up their lodgings at an inn. Thoſe who were thus entertained, or who exerciſed the ſame rites of humanity towards others, were called *hoſpites*: and they mutually exchanged certain tokens which were termed *teſſera hoſpitalitatis*. Theſe were preſerved in families, and carefully tranſmitted from father to ſon, as memorials and pledges of the ſame good offices between their deſcendants. *Gen.* xix. *Homer. Odyſſ.* xiv. 207. *Hor. Art. Poet.* 313.

[4] Cæſar affected to be thought a deſcendant from Æneas, who, it is well known, was ſuppoſed to have received his birth from Venus. Accordingly in alluſion to this pretended divinity of his lineage, he always wore a ring, on which was engraven the figure of that goddeſs, and with which he uſed to ſeal his moſt important diſpatches. The propagating a belief of this kind, muſt neceſſarily have proved of ſingular ſervice to Cæſar's purpoſes; as it impreſſed a peculiar veneration of his perſon upon the minds of the populace. Antony very ſucceſsfully made uſe of it to inſtigate them againſt the conſpirators, when he reminded them in the funeral oration which he ſpoke over Cæſar's body, that he derived his origin on one ſide from the antient kings of Italy, and on the other from the immortal gods. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 6. *Dio.* xliv. *p.* 235. 259.

other

other [5] of more humble lineage, and had treated Domitius at Corfinium [6], in the ſame manner that his name-ſake has been treated at Intemelium.—I ſalute your ſon. Farewel. A.U. 704.

LETTER VIII.

To Tiro.

I Shall think myſelf indebted to you for all that I moſt value, whenever you give me the ſatisfaction of ſeeing you perfectly recovered. In the mean time, I am in the utmoſt impatience for the return of Menander, whom I lately diſpatched with a letter to you. I conjure you, if you have any affection for me, to take care of your health: and let me ſee you as ſoon as it ſhall be thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed. Farewel.

April the 10th.

[5] Bellienus, commander of the garriſon at Intemelium: and who, as appears from this letter, was the ſon of a female ſlave.

[6] Domitius Enobarbus, a little before the date of this letter, was beſieged in Corfinium by Cæſar: to whom he was at length obliged to ſurrender the town. Cæſar treated him with great generoſity: and not only gave him his liberty, but reſtored to him a ſum of money which he had lodged in the public treaſury of the city. Some account of the occaſion of this inveterate enmity which Coelius expreſſes toward Domitius, may be ſeen in the 15th let. of the preceding book, p. 65. *Cæſ. de Bel. Civil.* i. 23.

LETTER IX.

To the Same.

A.U. 704. MEnander returned a day later than I expected, which cauſed me to paſs a miſerable night, in the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. But tho' your letter did not remove my uncertainty as to your health; it in ſome meaſure however diſpelled the gloom which had overcaſt my mind: as it was an evidence at leaſt that you were ſtill in being.

I have bidden adieu to all my literary amuſements of every kind: nor ſhall I be capable of reſuming them again till I ſee you here. Mean while, I deſire you would give orders that your phyſician's demands may be ſatisfied: for which purpoſe I have likewiſe written to Curius. The former, I am told, attributes your diſtemper to that anxiety which I hear you indulge. But if you have any regard for me, awaken in your breaſt that manly ſpirit of philoſophy, for which I ſo tenderly love and value you. It is impoſſible you ſhould recover your health, if you do not preſerve your ſpirits: and I intreat you to keep them up, for my ſake as well as your own: I deſire you likewiſe to retain Acaſtus, that

you may be the more conveniently attended. A.U. 704.
In a word, my Tiro, preſerve yourſelf for me.

Remember the time for the performance of my promiſe [7] is approaching: but if you return to Italy before the day I fixed for that purpoſe, I will execute it immediately. Again and again, I bid you farewel.

LETTER X.

To the Same.

ÆGypta returned hither on the 12th of April. But tho' he aſſured me that you had loſt your fever and were much mended; it gave me great uneaſineſs to find, that you were not yet able to write: and the more ſo, as Hermia, whom I expected the ſame day, is not yet arrived. The concern I feel on account of your health, is beyond all belief. Free me from this diſquietude, I conjure you; and in return I will eaſe you of all yours. I would write a longer letter, if I thought you were in a diſpoſition to read one. I will therefore only add my requeſt,

[7] The commentators ſuppoſe, with great probability, that this alludes to a promiſe which Cicero had made to Tiro, of giving him his freedom.

A.U. 704. that you would employ that excellent underſtanding for which I ſo greatly eſteem you, in ſtudying what methods may beſt preſerve you both to yourſelf and to me. I repeat it again and again, take care of your health. Farewel.

Since I wrote the above, Hermia is arrived. He delivered your letter to me; which is written, I perceive, with a very unſteady hand. However, I cannot wonder at it, after ſo ſevere an illneſs. I diſpatch Ægypta with this: and as he is a good-natured fellow, and ſeems to have an affection for you, I deſire you would keep him to attend you. He is accompanied with a cook, whom I have likewiſe ſent for your uſe. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

QUINTUS CICERO to the Same [a].

I Have ſtrongly reproached you in my own mind, for ſuffering a ſecond packet to come away without incloſing a letter to me. All your own rhetoric will be inſufficient to avert the puniſhment you have incurred by this unkind neglect: and

[a] The time when this letter was written is altogether uncertain: and it is placed under the preſent year, not becauſe there is any good reaſon for it, but becauſe there is none againſt it.

you

you muſt have recourſe to ſome elaborate production of your patron's eloquence, to appeaſe my wrath. Tho' I doubt whether even his oratory will be able to perſuade me, that you have not been guilty of a very unpardonable omiſſion. I remember it was a cuſtom of my mother, to put a ſeal upon her empty caſks; in order, if any of her liquors ſhould be purloined, that the ſervants might not pretend the veſſel had been exhauſted before. In the ſame manner you ſhould write to me, tho' you have nothing to ſay; that your empty letters may be a proof at leaſt, that you would not defraud me of what I value. I value all indeed that come from you, as the very ſincere and agreeable dictates of your heart. Farewel, and continue to love me. A.U. 704.

LETTER XII.

To SERVIUS SULPICIUS [1].

I Am informed by a letter from my friend Trebatius, that you lately inquired after me; and expreſſed at the ſame time much concern,

[1] Servius Sulpicius Rufus was deſcended from one of the nobleſt and moſt conſiderable families in Rome; ſeveral of his anceſtors having borne the higheſt offices and honours of the republic. He was elected to the conſular dignity in the

A.U. 704. that your indiſpoſition had prevented you from ſeeing me when I was in the ſuburbs of Rome. To which he adds, that you are deſirous if I ſhould approach the city, of having a conference with me, in order to deliberate in what manner it becomes us to act in this critical ſeaſon. I ſincerely wiſh it had been in our power to have conferred together, ere our affairs were utterly ruined: as I am perſuaded we might have contributed ſomewhat to the ſupport of our declining conſtitution. For as you had long foreſeen theſe public calamities, ſo I had the pleaſure to hear whilſt I was in Cilicia, that both during your conſulate, and afterwards, you always ſtood forth an advocate for the peace of our country [2]. But tho' I totally concurred with you in theſe ſentiments; yet upon my return to Rome it was too late to enforce them. I was indeed wholly unſupported in my opinion; and not only found myſelf among a ſet of men, who were

year of Rome 702: to which his eminent ſkill in the law principally contributed. *Suet. in vit. Tiberii. Dio.* xli. *p.* 148. *See rem.* 6. *on let.* 1. *B.* ix.

[2] Sulpicius was well aware, that the recalling Cæſar from his government in Gaul before the expiration of the time for which it was granted him, together with the refuſing him the privilege, which he had obtained by an expreſs law, of ſuing for the conſulate in his abſence, would inevitably draw on a civil war. And accordingly he exerted himſelf with great zeal in oppoſing his collegue Marcus Claudius Marcellus, in the ſeveral attempts which he made for that purpoſe. *Dio. ubi ſup.*

madly

madly inflamed with a thirſt of war, but was A.U. 704.
conſidered likewiſe as one who by a long abſence was utterly unacquainted with the true ſtate of the commonwealth. But tho' it ſeems in vain to hope that our united counſels can now avail the republic; yet if they can in any degree advantage ourſelves, there is no man with whom I ſhould more willingly confer. Not indeed with any view of ſecuring the leaſt part of our former dignities, but to conſider in what manner we may moſt worthily deplore their loſs. For I well know that your mind is amply ſtored with thoſe examples of the great, and thoſe maxims of the wiſe, which ought to guide and animate our conduct in this important conjuncture.

I ſhould have told you before now, that your preſence in the ſenate, or, to ſpeak more properly, in the *convention of ſenators* [1], would be altogether ineffectual; if I had not been apprehenſive of giving offence to that perſon who endeavoured by inſtancing your example, to perſuade me to join them. I very plainly aſſured him, however, when he applied to me for this purpoſe, that if I went

[1] The meeting of the ſenate to which Cicero alludes, was held in Rome after Pompey had deſerted Italy. Cicero calls it "a convention of ſenators," as not admitting the legality of its aſſembling; both the conſuls, together with the principal magiſtrates of the republic, having withdrawn themſelves, together with Pompey, into Greece.

A.U. 704. to the ſenate, I ſhould declare the ſame opinion concerning peace, and his expedition into Spain, which you had already delivered as yours [4].

The flames of war, you ſee, have ſpread themſelves throughout the whole Roman dominions: and all the world have taken up arms under our reſpective chiefs. Rome, in the mean time, deſtitute of all rule or magiſtracy, of all juſtice or control, is wretchedly abandoned to the dreadful inroads of rapine and devaſtation. In this general anarchy and confuſion, I know not what to expect: I ſcarce know even what to wiſh. But notwithſtanding I had determined to retire to a farther diſtance from Rome; (as indeed I cannot even hear it named without reluctance) yet I pay ſo great a regard to your judgment, that if you think any advantage may ariſe from our interview, I am willing to re-

[4] Cicero had an interview with Cæſar in the return of the latter from Brundiſium, after Pompey had abandoned that city and fled into Greece. Cæſar laboured to prevail with our author to return to Rome, and take his ſeat in the ſenate. But Cicero acted upon this occaſion with a ſpirit, which we cannot but regret ſhould have ever deſerted him. He declared, he would not attend the ſenate but upon the terms of being at full liberty to deliver his ſentiments: which he confeſſed were utterly againſt carrying the war into Spain, and altogether in favour of peace. Cæſar as plainly aſſured him, that this was what he could not ſuffer: and recommending it to him to think better of the matter, the conference ended; "very little, ſays Cicero, to the ſatisfaction of Cæſar, and "very much to my own." *Ad At.* ix. 18.

turn.

turn. In the mean time I have requeſted Tre- A.U. 704.
batius to receive your commands, if you ſhould be deſirous of communicating any to me by his mouth. I ſhould be glad indeed that you would employ either him, or any other of your friends, whom you can truſt upon this occaſion: as I would not lay you under the neceſſity of going out of Rome, or be myſelf obliged to advance much nearer to it. Perhaps I attribute too much to my own judgment, tho' I am ſure I do not to your's, when I add, that I am perſuaded the world will approve whatever meaſures we ſhall agree upon. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

MARCUS COELIUS to CICERO.

THE melancholy caſt of your letter affects me with the deepeſt concern: and tho' you do not declare your intentions in direct and explicit terms; yet you leave me no room to doubt of what kind they are [s]. I thus inſtantly therefore take up my pen, in order to conjure you, my dear friend, by the tenderneſs you bear to your children, and by all that is moſt valuable in your eſteem, not to reſolve upon any

[s] That Cicero had formed a reſolution of following Pompey into Greece.

A.U. 704. meaſures ſo totally inconſiſtent with your true welfare! Heaven and earth will be my witneſs, that I have offered you no advice, nor ſent you any prophetic admonitions, which I had not well and maturely conſidered. It was not, indeed, till after I had an interview with Cæſar, and had fully diſcovered his ſentiments, that I informed you in what manner he would moſt aſſuredly employ his victory. If you imagine he will be as eaſy in pardoning his enemies, as he was reaſonable in offering them terms of accommodation, believe me, you will find that you have made a very erroneous calculation. His heart and his expreſſions breathe the ſevereſt reſentment: and he left Rome, highly incenſed both againſt the ſenate and tribunes[6]. In plain truth, he is by no means in a diſpoſition to ſhew the

[6] Cæſar upon his return to Rome after the ſiege of Brundiſium, propoſed to the ſenate that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to Pompey, with propoſals of peace. This the houſe agreed to: but when the queſtion was moved concerning the perſons to be appointed for this purpoſe, none of the members would undertake that commiſſion. Cæſar endeavoured likewiſe to procure a law for granting him the money in the public treaſury, in order to carry on the war againſt Pompey. But Metellus the tribune interpoſing his negative, Cæſar obtained his purpoſe by a ſhorter method. For breaking open the temple of Saturn, in which this money was preſerved, he firſt plundered his country of her patrimony, (ſays Florus) and then of her liberty. Having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of an immenſe wealth, he immediately ſet out upon his expedition againſt Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* i. 33. *Dio.* xli. *Flor.* iv. 2.

leaſt

leaſt favour to his adverſaries. If you have any tenderneſs therefore to yourſelf, to your ſon, or to your family in general: if either my friendſhip, or the alliance of that worthy man who has married [7] your daughter, can give us a claim to ſome influence over you; let me conjure you not to diſconcert the meaſures we have taken to preſerve our fortunes, nor lay us under the miſerable alternative of either abandoning a cauſe upon which our own ſafety depends, or of impiouſly wiſhing well to one which muſt neceſſarily be inconſiſtent with yours. Conſider, you have already diſguſted Pompey by this your delay in joining him: and would it not be utterly impolitic, after having ſo cautiouſly avoided giving offence to Cæſar, when his affairs were yet doubtful, to declare againſt him now that they are attended with ſuch uncommon ſucceſs? Would it not be the higheſt indiſcretion, to join with thoſe who are fleeing before his troops, after having refuſed to act in concert with them when they ſeemed inclined to reſiſt? In fine, my friend, let me intreat you, whilſt you are endeavouring to eſcape the imputation of being deficient in patriotiſm, to be careful leſt you incur the cenſure of being deficient in prudence. But after all, if I cannot wholly diſſuade you from your reſolution, A.U. 704.

[7] Dolabella.

ſuffer

A.U. 704. ſuffer me at leaſt, to prevail with you to ſuſpend the execution of it; till the event of our expedition into Spain: which I ſhall venture however to aſſure you, will moſt certainly fall into our hands upon the very firſt appearance of Cæſar's troops. And what hopes the oppoſite party can poſſibly entertain after the loſs of that province, I am perfectly unable to diſcover. As far likewiſe is it beyond my penetration, what motive can induce you to join with thoſe whoſe affairs are thus evidently deſperate. This deſign, which you ſo obſcurely intimated in your letter, had reached the knowledge of Cæſar: and the firſt thing he ſaid after the uſual ſalutations had paſſed between us, was to inform me of what he had heard concerning you. I profeſſed myſelf intirely ignorant that you had any ſuch thoughts: but if you had, I ſaid, it was my requeſt, that he would write to you in ſuch terms as might moſt probably prevail with you to renounce them. I have received his commands to attend him into Spain: otherwiſe I would inſtantly have come to you, where-ever you had been, in order to have preſſed theſe reaſons upon you in perſon; and indeed to have retained you in Italy by abſolute force. Conſider well your ſcheme, my dear Cicero, ere you carry it into execution, leſt you obſtinately, and againſt all remonſtrances, involve both

both yourſelf and your family in utter and irre- A.U. 704.
coverable ruin. But if you are affected by the reproaches of thoſe who ſtyle themſelves patriots, or cannot ſubmit to be a witneſs of the inſolence of ſome in the oppoſite party; let me adviſe you to retreat into a neutral city, till our conteſts ſhall be decided. This will be acting with a prudence which I cannot but own to be a laudable one; and which Cæſar, I am ſure, will by no means diſapprove. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

Cicero to Marcus Coelius.

I Should have been extremely affected by your letter, if reaſon had not baniſhed from my heart all its diſquietudes, and deſpair of ſeeing better days had not long ſince hardened it againſt every new impreſſion of grief. Yet ſtrong as I muſt acknowledge my deſpondency to be, I am not ſenſible however that I ſaid any thing in my laſt, which could juſtly raiſe the ſuſpicion you have conceived. What more did my letter contain than general expreſſions of diſſatisfaction at the ſad proſpect of our affairs? a proſpect which cannot, ſurely, ſuggeſt to your own mind leſs gloomy apprehenſions than it preſents to mine.

For

A.U.704. For I am too well perſuaded of the force of your penetration, to imagine, that my judgment can diſcover conſequences which lie concealed from yours. But I am ſurpriſed that you who ought to know me perfectly well, ſhould believe me capable of acting with ſo little policy as to abandon a riſing fortune, for one in its decline at leaſt, if not utterly fallen; or ſo variable as, not only to deſtroy at once all the intereſt I have eſtabliſhed with Cæſar, but to deviate even from myſelf, by engaging at laſt in a civil war, which it has hitherto been my determined maxim to avoid. Where then did you diſcover thoſe unhappy reſolutions you impute to me? Perhaps you collected them from what I ſaid of ſecluding myſelf in ſome ſequeſtered ſolitude. And indeed you are ſenſible how ill I can ſubmit, I do not ſay to endure, but even to be a witneſs of the inſolencies of the ſucceſsful party: a ſentiment, my friend, which once, I am ſure, was yours no leſs than mine. But in vain would I retire, whilſt I preſerve the title [a] with which I am at preſent diſtinguiſhed, and continue to be attended with this embarraſſing parade of lictors [b]. Were I eaſed

[a] That of *Imperator*. See the firſt rem. on the firſt let. of B. i.

[b] The lictors were a ſort of beadles, who carried the enſigns of magiſtracy before the conſuls, proconſuls, and other ſupreme officers of the ſtate. Theſe lictors continued to at-

of

of this troubleſome honour, there is no part of Italy ſo obſcure, in which I ſhould not be well contented to hide myſelf. Yet theſe my laurels, unwelcome as they are to myſelf, are the object both of the envy and the raillery of my malevolent enemies [2]. Nevertheleſs, under all theſe temptations of withdrawing from ſo diſguſting a ſcene, I never once entertained a thought of leaving Italy without the previous approbation of yourſelf and ſome others. But you know the ſituation of my ſeveral villas: and as it is among theſe I am obliged to divide my time, that I may not incommode [3] my friends; the preference I give to thoſe which ſtand on the ſea coaſt, has raiſed a ſuſpicion, that I am meditating a flight into Greece. If peace indeed were to be found in that country, I ſhould not perhaps be unwill- A.U. 704.

tend the proconſul after his return from his government, if he aſpired (as Cicero did) to the honour of a triumph.

[2] Cicero undoubtedly gave upon this occaſion but too much colour to the cenſure of his enemies: for it could not but have a very ſtrange appearance, that he ſhould preſerve the thoughts of a triumph, at a time when his country was bleeding with a civil war. But as he was extremely ambitious of this honour, he was greatly unwilling to renounce it; ſtill flattering himſelf, perhaps, that ſome accommodation between Cæſar and Pompey would afford him an opportunity of enjoying what he ſo ſtrongly deſired.

[3] That is, by continuing in the ſuburbs of Rome; where, as he had no houſe of his own, he muſt neceſſarily be a gueſt to ſome of his friends. For he could not enter the city without relinquiſhing his claim to a triumph.

A.U. 704. ing to undertake the voyage: but to enter upon it in order to engage in a war, would be altogether inconſiſtent, ſurely, with my principles and character; eſpecially as it would be taking up arms not only againſt a man who I hope is perfectly well ſatisfied with my conduct, but in favour of one whom it is now impoſſible I ſhould ever render ſo. In a word, as I made no ſecret to you when you met me at my Cuman villa, of the converſation which had paſſed between Ampius and myſelf; you could not be at a loſs to gueſs my ſentiments upon this head: and indeed you plainly ſaw how utterly averſe I was to the ſcheme of Pompey's deſerting Rome. Did I not then affirm, that there was nothing I would not ſuffer, rather than be induced to follow the civil war beyond the limits of Italy [4]? And has any

[4] Cicero perpetually condemns the conduct of Pompey, in firſt retiring from Rome, and afterwards removing the ſeat of war out of Italy. But with regard to the former, it appears even from our author himſelf, that it was attended with a very good effect, and which Pompey, it is probable, had in view when he reſolved upon that meaſure. For it raiſed a more general indignation againſt Cæſar to ſee Pompey thus fleeing before him, and rendered the people more averſe from favouring his cauſe. *Fugiens Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid quæris? alia cauſa facta eſt: nihil jam concedendum putant Cæſari.* Ad At. vii. 11. And as to Pompey's leaving Italy, he ſeems, as far as can be judged at this diſtance of time, to have acted upon a very rational plan. Pompey's forces were much inferior to Cæſar's: and even the few troops which he had, were ſuch as he could by no means depend upon. As he was maſter of a very conſiderable fleet, there was great probability of his being able to prevent Cæ-

event

event ſince happened, that could give me juſt reaſon of changing my ſentiments? On the contrary, has not every circumſtance concurred to fix me in them [5]? A.U. 704.

Be aſſured, (and I am well perſuaded 'tis what you already believe) that the ſingle aim of my actions in theſe our public calamities, has been to convince the world, that my great and earneſt deſire was to preſerve the peace of our country; and when this could no longer be hoped, that there was nothing I wiſhed more, than to avoid

ſar from following him into Greece: at the ſame time that Afranius and Petreius were in the rear of Cæſar, with an army compoſed of approved and veteran forces. Italy was ſupplied with corn from the eaſtern provinces, eſpecially from Egypt: which Pompey was in hopes of cutting off by means of his fleet. Theſe provinces together with the neighbouring kings were likewiſe greatly in his intereſt: and he had reaſon to expect very large ſubſidies from them, both of men and money. Perhaps therefore when theſe ſeveral circumſtances ſhall be duly weighed, it will not appear that Pompey determined injudiciouſly, when he reſolved to croſs the Adriatic. *Ad At.* vii. 13 ix. 9. x. 8. *Dio.* xli. *p.* 158.

[5] Notwithſtanding Cicero's ſtrong aſſertions that he had no thoughts of joining Pompey, he had actually determined to do ſo a few days before he received the preceding letter from Coelius: as appears by an epiſtle to Atticus, wherein he expreſsly tells him, that he was only waiting for a fair wind. But before he wrote the preſent letter, he had received ſome news not altogether favourable to Pompey's party: in conſequence of which he renounced his former deſign, and was now determined (tho' he does not think proper to own it in this letter) to retire to Malta, as a neutral iſland. This reſolution, however, he ſoon afterwards rejected, and reſumed his firſt intentions of following Pompey into Greece. And this ſcheme he at length executed. *Ad At.* x. 8, 9. See rem. 4. p. 141. of this vol.

A.U. 704. taking any part in the civil war. And I ſhall never, I truſt, have reaſon to repent of firmly perſevering in theſe ſentiments. It was the frequent boaſt, I remember, of my friend Hortenſius, that he had never taken up arms in any of our civil diſſentions. But I may glory in the ſame honeſt neutrality, with a much better grace: for that of Hortenſius was ſuſpected to have ariſen from the timidity of his temper; whereas mine, I think, cannot be imputed to any motive of that unworthy kind. Nor am I in the leaſt terrified by thoſe conſiderations, with which you ſo faithfully and affectionately endeavour to alarm my fears. The truth of it is, there is no calamity ſo ſevere, to which we are not all of us, it ſhould ſeem, in this univerſal anarchy and confuſion, equally and unavoidably expoſed. But if I could have averted this dreadful ſtorm from the republic, at the expence of my own private and domeſtic enjoyments, even of thoſe, my friend, which you ſo emphatically recommend to my care, I ſhould moſt willingly have made the ſacrifice. As to my ſon, (who I rejoice to find has a ſhare in your concern) I ſhall leave him a ſufficient patrimony in that honour with which my name will be remembered, ſo long as the republic ſhall ſubſiſt: and if it be deſtroyed, I ſhall have the conſolation at leaſt to reflect, that he will ſuffer nothing

more than muſt be the common lot of every Roman. With regard to that dear and excellent young man my ſon-in-law, whoſe welfare you intreat me to conſider; can you once doubt, knowing as you perfectly do the tenderneſs I bear, not only for him, but for Tullia, that I am infinitely anxious upon his account? I am the more ſo indeed, as it was my ſingle conſolation amidſt theſe general diſtractions, that they might poſſibly prove a means of protecting him from thoſe inconveniencies in which his too generous ſpirit had unhappily involved him [6]. How much he ſuffered from them, during the time he continued in Rome, as well as how little that circumſtance was to my credit, are points which I chooſe to leave to your inquiry. A.U. 704.

Affairs in Spain, I doubt not, will terminate in the manner you mention. But I neither wait the event of them in order to determine my con-

[6] It ſhould ſeem by this paſſage, that Dolabella, who had contracted very conſiderable debts, was at this time under ſome difficulties from his creditors: from whom Cicero flattered himſelf that Cæſar's power would have protected him. Some commentators however, inſtead of *liberalitate*, adopted in this tranſlation, read *libertate*; and ſuppoſe that Cicero alludes to the proſecution in which Dolabella had been engaged againſt Appius: of which a detail has been given in the preceding remarks. But whichever be the true word, the ſentiment is obſervable. For ſurely it was utterly unworthy of Cicero, to find the leaſt conſolation amidſt the calamities of his country, in the hope that they might prove a ſcreen to Dolabella, either from the juſtice of his creditors, or the malice of his enemies.

A.U. 704. duct [7]; nor am I acting in any other reſpect with the leaſt artifice. If the republic ſhould be preſerved, I ſhall certainly hold my rank in it: but if it ſhould be ſubverted; you yourſelf, I dare ſay, will join me in my intended ſolitude: But this latter ſuppoſition is, perhaps, the vain and groundleſs ſurmiſe of a diſturbed imagination; and affairs, after all, may take a happier turn than I am apt to preſage. I remember the deſpondency which prevailed in my earlier days, amongſt our patriots of more advanced years [8]: poſſibly my preſent apprehenſions may be of the ſame caſt, and no other than the effect of a common weakneſs incident to old age: Heaven grant they may prove ſo! And yet you have heard, I ſuppoſe, that a robe of magiſtracy is in the looms for Oppius; and that Curtius has hopes of being inveſted with the double-dyed purple [9]: but the principal work-

[7] The contrary of this was the truth: for Cicero was at this time determined to wait the event of Cæſar's expedition againſt the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. And for this purpoſe he had thoughts of retiring to Malta: *Melitum, opinor, capeſſamus* (ſays he to Atticus) *dum quid in Hiſpania. Ad At.* x. 9.

[8] This alludes to the contentions between Sylla and Marius; which, notwithſtanding the probability of their terminating in the total ſubverſion of the conſtitution, the republic however ſurvived.

[9] Oppius and Curtius were perſons, who probably had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in no other manner than as being the ſervile implements of Cæſar's ambition. The former how-

man,

man, it ſeems, ſomewhat delays him [10]. I throw in this little pleaſantry, to let you ſee that I can ſmile in the midſt of my indignation. A.U. 704.

Let me adviſe you to enter into the affair which I formerly mentioned concerning Dolabella, with the ſame warmth, as if it were your own. I have only to add, that you may depend upon it, I ſhall take no haſty or inconſiderate meaſures. But to whatever part of the world I may direct my courſe, I intreat you to protect both me and mine agreeably to your honour and to our mutual friendſhip. Farewel.

ever, appears to have been in high credit during Cæſar's uſurpation: but the latter is often mentioned in the letters to Atticus with great contempt. Servius in his comment on the 7th book of the Æneid, informs us that the colour of the augural robe was a mixture of purple and ſcarlet: it is probable therefore from the expreſſion which Cicero employs, that Curtius had a promiſe of being advanced into the ſacred college. It might well diſcourage Cicero's hopes of better days, when he ſaw men of this character ſingled out to fill the moſt important dignities of the republic. And indeed it was an earneſt of what Cæſar afterwards practiſed, when he became the ſole fountain of all preferment: which he diſtributed in the moſt arbitrary manner, without any regard to rank or merit. *Nullos non honores*, ſays one of the hiſtorians, *ad libidinem cepit & dedit.——Civitate donatos, & quoſdam e ſemibarbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam.* *Suet. in Jul.* 76.

[10] *Sed eum* infector *moratur.* This witticiſm, which turns upon the equivocal ſenſe of the word *infector*, could not be preſerved in the tranſlation. It is probable that Cæſar had gained Curtius, as he had many others, by ſome ſeaſonable application to his wants or his avarice: for Cicero ſeems to uſe this word in alluſion to the verb from whence it is derived, as well as in its appropriated meaning; *inficio* ſignifying both to *corrupt* and to *dye*.

LETTER XV.

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

A.U. 704. I Received your letter at my Cuman villa, on the 29th of April. I find you ſhortened it upon the ſuppoſition, that Philotimus would deliver it into my hands; whom, it ſeems, you had inſtructed to give me a more full and explicit information. But he did not execute his commiſſion with the care he ought: for inſtead of bringing your letter to me himſelf, he ſent it by another perſon. However, this omiſſion was ſupplied by a viſit from your wife and ſon: who are both of them extremely deſirous you ſhould come hither: and indeed preſſed me to write to you for that purpoſe.

You deſire to know what meaſures I would recommend to you, in this critical conjuncture. Believe me, I am in a ſituation of mind which renders me much more in need of a guide myſelf, than capable of conducting another. But were it otherwiſe, how ſhould I venture to offer my advice to a man of your diſtinguiſhed wiſdom and dignity? This however I will ſay, that if the queſtion be, in what manner it becomes us to act; the anſwer is plain and obvious: but what will

will be moſt expedient for our intereſt; is a point A.U. 704.
far leſs eaſy to determine. In ſhort, if we think, as I am ſure we ought, that honour and true intereſt muſt ever point the ſame way; there can be no diſpute what path we have to purſue.

You imagine, that we are both of us in the ſame circumſtances; and moſt certainly we both committed the ſame miſtake, when we honeſtly declared our opinions in favour of peace. All our counſels indeed equally tended to prevent a civil war: and as this was the true intereſt of Cæſar, we thought he would conſider himſelf as obliged to us for ſupporting pacific meaſures. How much we were deceived, is evident, you ſee from the preſent poſture of affairs. But you look, I know, much farther, and take into your view, not only what has already happened, or is now tranſacting, but the whole future progreſs and final tendency of theſe commotions. If then you ſhould determine to remain in Rome, you muſt either approve the meaſures which are there carrying on; or be preſent at a ſcene which your heart condemns. But the former ſeems an unworthy part; and the latter, I think, altogether an unſafe one. My opinion is conſequently for retiring: and the ſingle point is, whither to direct our courſe? But as public affairs were never in a more deſperate ſituation, ſo never was

there

A.U. 704. there a queſtion attended with greater difficulties: whichever way one turns it, ſome important objection occurs. If you have reſolved upon any ſcheme which is not conſiſtent with mine, I could wiſh you would ſpare yourſelf the trouble of a journey hither: but if you are inclined to participate of my meaſures, I will wait your arrival [1]. I beg you would be as expeditious for that purpoſe as you conveniently can: a requeſt, in which both Servius and Poſtumia equally join [2]. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

To RUFUS [3].

THO' I never once doubted that I enjoyed the higheſt rank in your friendſhip, yet every day's experience ſtrengthens me in that perſuaſion. You aſſured me, I remember, in one

[1] Sulpicius had an interview with Cicero at his Cuman villa, ſoon after the date of this letter: but the former was ſo much diſpirited and ſo full of fears, that Cicero could not bring him to any determination. They broke up their conference therefore without coming to any explicit reſolution: for tho' Cicero's was already formed, he did not think proper to avow his deſign of joining Pompey, to a man whom he found in ſo timid and fluctuating a ſtate of mind. *Ad At.* x. 14.

[2] The ſon and wife of Sulpicius. Poſtumia was one of thoſe many ladies who found Cæſar as irreſiſtible a gallant, as he was a ſoldier. *Suet. in Jul.* 50.

[3] See rem. 1. p. 91.

of

of your letters, that you ſhould be more aſſidu- A.U. 704.
ous in giving me proofs of your affection now, than when you were my quæſtor, as they would more indiſputably appear to be the free reſult of a diſintereſted eſteem. And tho' nothing, I thought, could exceed your good offices to me in the province, yet you have ſince fully evinced the ſincerity of this promiſe. Accordingly it was with great pleaſure I obſerved the friendly impatience with which you expected my arrival in Rome, when I had thoughts of going thither; as well as the joy you afterwards expreſſed at my having laid aſide that deſign, when affairs had taken a different turn from what you imagined. But your laſt letter was particularly acceptable to me, as an inſtance both of your affection and your judgment. It afforded me much ſatisfaction, indeed, to find on the one hand, that you conſider your true intereſt (as every great and honeſt mind ought always to conſider it) as inſeparably connected with a rectitude of conduct: and on the other, that you promiſe to accompany me, whitherſoever I may determine to ſteer. Nothing can be more agreeable to my inclination, nor, I truſt, to your honour, than your executing this reſolution. Mine has been fixed for ſome time: and it was not with any deſign of concealing it from you, that I did not acquaint you with

it

A.U. 704. it before. My only reaſon was, that in public conjunctures of this kind, the communication of one's intentions to a friend, looks like admoniſhing, or rather indeed preſſing him to ſhare in the difficulties and the dangers of one's ſchemes. I cannot, however, but willingly embrace an offer which proceeds from ſo affectionate and generous a diſpoſition: tho' I muſt add at the ſame time, (that I may not tranſgreſs the modeſt limits I have ſet to my requeſts of this nature) that I by no means urge your compliance. If you ſhall think proper to purſue the meaſures you propoſe, I ſhall eſteem myſelf greatly indebted to you: if not, I ſhall very readily excuſe you. For tho' I ſhall look upon the former as a tribute which you could not well refuſe to my friendſhip; yet I ſhall conſider the latter likewiſe as the ſame reaſonable conceſſion to your fears. It muſt be owned, there is great difficulty how to act upon this occaſion. 'Tis true, what honour would direct, is very apparent: but the prudential part is far from being a point ſo clear. However, if we would act up, as we ought, to the dictates of that philoſophy we have mutually cultivated, we cannot once heſitate in thinking, that the worthieſt meaſures muſt upon the whole be the moſt expedient. If you are inclined then to embark with me, you muſt come hither immediately:

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but if it ſhould not ſuit you to be thus expedi- A.U. 704.
tious, I will ſend you an exact account of my route. To be ſhort, in whatever manner you may decide, I ſhall always conſider you as my friend: but much more ſo, if you ſhould determine as I wiſh. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

To TERENTIA.

I Am entirely free from the diſorder in my ſtomach: which was the more painful, as I ſaw it occaſioned both you and that dear girl whom I love better than my life, ſo much uneaſineſs. I diſcovered the cauſe of this complaint the night after I left you; having diſcharged a great quantity of phlegm. This gave me ſo immediate a relief, that I cannot but believe I owe my cure to ſome heavenly interpoſition: to Apollo, no doubt, and Æſculapius. You will offer up your grateful tributes therefore to theſe reſtoring powers, with all the ardency of your uſual devotion.

I am this moment embarked[4]: and have procured a ſhip which I hope is well able to perform

[4] In order to join Pompey in Greece: who had left Italy about three months before the date of this letter. A

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A.U. 704. her voyage. As ſoon as I ſhall have finiſhed this letter, I propoſe to write to ſeveral of my friends, recommending you and our deareſt Tullia in the ſtrongeſt terms to their protection. In the mean time I ſhould exhort you to keep up your ſpirits, if I did not know that you are both animat-

late learned and moſt able panegyriſt of Cicero aſſures us, that he took this meaſure, as chooſing to "follow the cauſe "which he thought to be the beſt, and preferring the con-"ſideration of duty to that of his ſafety." Cicero deſerves ſo highly from every friend to genius and literature, that it is no wonder Dr. Middleton ſhould not always ſpeak of him with the cool impartiality of an unbiaſſed hiſtorian. But it is the principal purpoſe of theſe remarks to inquire without prejudices of any kind, into the real merit of Cicero's political character: and as his conduct during this important criſis, will evidently ſhew the ſtrength and meaſure of his patriotiſm, I ſhall trace it from the breaking out of the civil war to the preſent period: and then leave the facts to ſpeak for themſelves.

Upon the news that Cæſar was marching into Italy, Pompey was appointed general in chief of the republican forces: and the principal magiſtrates, together with thoſe who were inveſted with proconſular power, were diſtributed into different cantons of Italy in order to raiſe troops for the defence of the common cauſe. Cicero had his particular diſtrict aſſigned him among the reſt: but inſtead of executing this important commiſſion with ſpirit and vigour, he remained altogether inactive at his ſeveral villas in that part of Italy. And this he ſignified to Cæſar, by means of their common friend Trebatius: who had written to him in Cæſar's name, in order to prevail with him to return to Rome. *Reſcripſi ad Trebatium quam illud hoc tempore eſſet difficile: me tamen in prædiis meis eſſe, neque delectum ullum, neque negotium ſuſcepiſſe. Ad At.* vii. 37. Pompey in the mean time was preſſing Cicero to join him: but he excuſed himſelf by repreſenting that whilſt he was actually on the road for that purpoſe, he was informed that he could not proceed without the danger

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ed with a more than manly fortitude. And in- A.U. 704.
deed I hope there is a fair proſpect of your remaining in Italy without any inconvenience, and of my returning to the defence of the republic, in conjunction with thoſe who are no leſs faithfully devoted to its intereſt.

of being intercepted by Cæſar's troops. *Epiſt.* 2. *Cicer. ad Pom. apud epiſt. ad At.* viii. Cicero however is ſo ingenuous as to acknowledge in the ſame letter to Pompey, that ſo long as there were hopes that the negotiations for a peace would be attended with ſucceſs, he thought it a juſtifiable piece of prudence not to be too active in forwarding the preparations that were carrying on againſt Cæſar; remembering, he ſays, how much he had formerly ſuffered from the reſentment of the latter in the affair of his exile. This was explaining at once the true principle of his whole conduct: and he avows it more expreſsly in a letter to Atticus. *Non ſimul cum Pompeio mare tranſierimus? Omnino non poterimus; exſtat ratio dierum, ſed tamen (fateamur enim quod eſt) fefellit ea me res, quæ fortaſſe non debuit, ſed fefellit; pacem putavi fore: quæ ſi eſſet, iratum mihi Cæſarem eſſe, cum idem amicus eſſet Pompeio, nolui. Senſeram enim quam idem eſſent. Hoc verens in hanc* tarditatem *incidi. Ad At.* x. 8. Pompey however had no ſooner ſet ſail for Greece, than Cicero was ſtruck with the conſciouſneſs of his having acted an unworthy part: *Poſtquam Pompeius et conſules ex Italia exierunt, non angor,* ſays he, *ſed ardeo dolore——non ſum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos, tantum mihi dedecoris admiſiſſe videor. Ad At.* ix. 6. After ſeveral deliberations therefore, he was determined, he tells Atticus, to follow Pompey, without waiting the event of Cæſar's arms in Spain. *Ad At.* ix. 19. x. 8. This reſolution, nevertheleſs, ſoon gave way to a ſecond: for having received ſome accounts which contradicted a former report that had been ſpread concerning the advantageous poſture of Pompey's affairs, Cicero renounced his intention of joining him, and now purpoſed to ſtand neuter. *Ad At.* x. 9. But a new turn in favour of Pompey ſeems to have brought Cicero back to his former ſcheme. For in a ſubſequent letter

A.U. 704. After earneſtly recommending to you the care of your health, let me make it my next requeſt, that you would diſpoſe of yourſelf in ſuch of my villas as are at the greateſt diſtance from the army. And if proviſions ſhould become ſcarce in Rome, I ſhould think you will find it moſt convenient to remove with your ſervants to Arpinum [5].

to Atticus, wherein he mentions ſome reaſons to believe that Pompey's affairs went well in Spain, and takes notice likewiſe of ſome diſguſt which the populace expreſſed towards Cæſar in the theatre: we find him reſuming his deſign of openly uniting with Pompey. And accordingly he reſolved to join thoſe who were maintaining Pompey's cauſe in Sicily. *Ad At.* x. 12. It does not appear by any of his letters, upon what motive he afterwards exchanged his plan, for that of ſailing directly to Pompey's camp in Greece: which, after various debates with himſelf, he at length, we ſee, executed. There is a paſſage however, in Cæſar's Commentaries, which perhaps will render it probable, that the news which about this time was confidently ſpread at Rome, that Cæſar's army had been almoſt totally defeated in Spain, was the determining reaſon that ſent Cicero to Pompey. The fact was, that Afranius and Petreius had gained ſome advantages over Cæſar: but as they magnified them in their letters to Rome, much beyond the truth; ſeveral perſons of note who had hitherto been fluctuating in their reſolutions, thought it was now high time to declare themſelves, and went off immediately to Pompey. *Hæc Afranius, Petreiuſque, et eorum amici, pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romam ad ſuos perſcribebant. Multa rumor fingebat: ut pene bellum confectum videretur. Quibus literis nunciiſque Romam perlatis — multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiſcebantur; alii ut principes talem nuncium attuliſſe; alii nec eventum belli expectaſſe, aut ex omnibus noviſſimi veniſſe viderentur.* De Bel. Civil. i. 53.

[5] A city in the country of the Volſci: a diſtrict of Italy which now comprehends part of the Campagna di Roma, and of the Terra di Lavoro. Cicero was born in this town; which ſtill ſubſiſts under the name of Arpino.

The

The amiable young Cicero moſt tenderly ſa- A.U. 704.
lutes you. Again and again I bid you farewel.

June the 11th.

LETTER XVIII.

MARCUS COELIUS to CICERO.

WAS [6] it for this, that I followed Cæſar into Spain? Why was I not rather at Formiæ, that I might have accompanied you to Pompey? But I was infatuated: and it was my averſion to Appius [7], together with my friendſhip for Curio, that gradually drew me into this curſed cauſe. Nor were you entirely unacceſſory to my error: for that night when I called

[6] This letter confirms the character that has been given of Cœlius in a former remark *, and ſhews him to have been of a temper extravagantly warm and impetuous. The reſentment and indignation with which it is animated, was owing to ſome diſappointments that he had met with from Cæſar: who had not diſtinguiſhed him agreeably to his expectations. Cœlius therefore, who was one of the prætors for the preſent year, endeavoured to take his revenge by oppoſing the execution of certain laws which Cæſar had procured. His attempts for this purpoſe having created great diſturbances in Rome, he was not only depoſed from his office, but expelled the ſenate: and the preſent letter ſeems to have been written immediately upon that event. *Dio.* xlii. p. 195. *Cæſ. de Bel. Civil.* iii. 20.

[7] Appius engaged on the ſide of Pompey: as Curio was a warm partiſan of Cæſar. For the occaſion of Cœlius's reſentment againſt Appius, ſee B. vi. let. 14. p. 61. of this vol.

* See rem. 4. vol. 1. p. 272.

A.U. 704. upon you in my way to Ariminum [8], why did you forget the friend, when you were gloriously acting the patriot, and not diſſuade me from the purpoſe of my journey; at the ſame time that you commiſſioned me to urge Cæſar to pacific meaſures? Not that I have an ill opinion of the cauſe: but believe me, perdition itſelf were preferable to being a witneſs of the inſufferable behaviour of theſe his inſolent partiſans [9]. They have rendered themſelves ſo generally odious, that we ſhould long ſince have been driven out of Rome, were it not for the apprehenſions which people have conceived of the cruel intentions of your party [10]. There is not at this juncture a man in Rome, except a few raſcally uſurers [11], who does not wiſh well to Pompey:

[8] In order to join Cæſar. Cœlius was one of the party with Curio and Antony, when they fled to Cæſar. *Dio* xli. *p.* 153. See the firſt letter of this book, and rem. 4. on the ſame.

[9] The chiefs of Cæſar's party at Rome.

[10] When Pompey left Rome upon the approach of Cæſar, he declared that he ſhould treat all thoſe as enemies who did not follow him: a declaration, it was imagined, which he would moſt rigorouſly have fulfilled, if fortune had put it in his power. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* i. *Cic. Epiſt. paſſim.*

[11] As great numbers of thoſe who embraced the party of Cæſar were deeply involved in debt, it was apprehended that they would procure a law for a general diſcharge from their creditors. But Cæſar adjuſted matters by a more prudent method, and in ſuch a manner as to facilitate the payment of theſe loans with little prejudice to thoſe who had advanced them. It appears that Cæſar rendered himſelf by theſe means extremely acceptable to thoſe perſons at Rome, who dealt in this ſort of pecuniary commerce. *Cæſ. de Bell. Civil.* i.

and I have already brought over to your cauſe, A.U. 704.
not only thoſe among the plebeian families who were in the intereſt of Cæſar, but the whole populace in general. But you will aſk, perhaps, what can this avail us now? Wait the event, my friend: victory ſhall attend you in ſpite of yourſelves [12]. For ſurely a profound lethargy has locked up all the ſenſes of your party: as they do not yet ſeem ſenſible how open we lie to an attack, and how little capable we are of making any conſiderable oppoſition. It is by no means from an intereſted motive that I offer my aſſiſtance; but merely in reſentment of the unworthy uſage I have received: and reſentment is a paſſion which uſually carries me, you know, the greateſt lengths.—But what are you doing on the other ſide the water [13]? Are you imprudently waiting to give the enemy battle? What Pompey's forces may be, I know not: but Cæſar's, I am ſure, are accuſtomed to action, and enured to all the hardſhips of the moſt ſevere campaigns. Farewel.

[12] This boaſt of Cœlius ended in nothing but his own deſtruction. For not ſucceeding in his attempts at Rome, he withdrew to Thurii, a maritime town on the gulph of Tarentum; where endeavouring to raiſe an inſurrection in favour of Pompey, he was murdered by the ſoldiers of Cæſar's faction. *Dio.* xlii. *p.* 196.

[13] Cicero was at this time in Pompey's camp in Greece.

LETTER XIX.

DOLABELLA [1] to CICERO.

A.U. 704. I Shall rejoice to hear you are well: I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, that both Tullia and myſelf are perfectly ſo. Terentia, indeed, has been ſomewhat indiſpoſed; but is now, I am aſſured, perfectly recovered. As to the reſt of your family, they are all of them in the ſtate you wiſh.

It would be doing me great injuſtice to ſuſpect, that I have at any time adviſed you to join with me in the cauſe of Cæſar, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter, more with a view to the advantage of my own party, than of your intereſt. But now that fortune has declared on our ſide [2], it is impoſſible I ſhould be ſuppoſed to recommend this alternative for any other reaſon,

[1] The reader has already been appriſed in the foregoing remarks, that Dolabella was ſon-in-law to Cicero. He was a young man of a warm, enterpriſing, factious diſpoſition, and one of the moſt active partiſans of Cæſar's cauſe. His character, conduct and fortune will be more particularly marked out as occaſion ſhall offer, in the farther progreſs of theſe obſervations.

[2] Cæſar having defeated Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey, in Spain, was at this time with his army before Dyrrachium: a maritime city in Macedonia, now called Durazzi.

but

but becauſe the duty I owe you will not ſuffer me to be ſilent. Whether my advice, therefore, ſhall meet with your approbation, or not, you will at leaſt be ſo juſt as to believe, that it proceeds, my dear Cicero, from an honeſt intention, and from a heart moſt ſincerely deſirous of your welfare. A.U. 704.

You ſee that neither the lofty title with which Pompey is diſtinguiſhed [3], nor the credit of his former illuſtrious actions, nor the advantages he ſo frequently boaſted, of having kings and nations in the number of his clients, have any thing availed him. On the contrary, he has ſuffered a diſgrace which never, perhaps, attended any other Roman general. For after having loſt both the Spains [4], together with a veteran army, and after having alſo been driven out of Italy, he is now ſo ſtrongly inveſted on all ſides, that he cannot execute what the meaneſt ſoldier has often performed: he cannot make even an honourable retreat [5]. You will conſider then, agreeably

[3] When he was a very young man he was honoured by Sylla with the title of Pompey the Great: a title which he ever afterwards aſſumed.

[4] This country was divided by the Romans into the Nearer and the Farther Spain: that part which lay near the Pyrenees and the river Ibro being comprehended under the former appellation, and all beyond that river, under the latter.

[5] It is probable that ſome ſlight ſucceſs which Cæſar had obtained before Dyrrachium, had been greatly magnified at

A.U. 704. to your uſual prudence, what hopes can poſſibly remain either to him, or to yourſelf; and the reſult will evidently point out the meaſures which are moſt expedient for you to purſue. Let me intreat you, if Pompey has already extricated himſelf out of the danger in which he was involved, and taken refuge in his fleet, that you would now at leaſt think it time to conſult your own intereſt, in preference to that of any other man. You have performed every thing which gratitude and friendſhip can expect or the party you approved can require. What remains then, but to ſit down quietly under the republic as it now ſubſiſts, rather than by vainly contending for the old conſtitution, to be abſolutely deprived of both? If Pompey therefore ſhould be driven from his preſent poſt, and obliged to retreat ſtill farther; I conjure you, my dear Cicero, to withdraw to Athens, or to any other city unconcerned in the war. If you ſhould comply with this advice, I beg you would give me notice: that I may fly to embrace you, if by any means it ſhould be in my power. Your own intereſt with Cæſar, together with the natural generoſity of his temper, will render it extremely eaſy for you to obtain

Rome: for Pompey was ſo far from being in the ſituation which Dolabella here repreſents him, that Cæſar found himſelf obliged to abandon the ſiege of this city, and to retire into Theſſaly. *Dio.* xli. *p.* 177.

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any honourable conditions you ſhall demand: and I am perſuaded that my ſollicitations will have no inconſiderable weight for this purpoſe. A.U. 704.

I rely upon your honour and your humanity to take care, that this meſſenger may ſafely return to me with your anſwer. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

To TERENTIA [6].

I Am informed by the letters of my friends as well as by other accounts, that you have had a ſudden attack of a fever. I intreat you therefore to employ the utmoſt care in re-eſtabliſhing your health.

The early notice you gave me of Cæſar's letter, was extremely agreeable to me: and let me deſire you would ſend me the ſame expeditious intelligence, if any thing ſhould hereafter occur that concerns me to know. Once more I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewel.

June the 2d.

[6] "This letter was written by Cicero in the camp at "Dyrrachium: for there is one extant to Atticus later "than this, and dated from the camp. *Ad At.* xi. 18. Mr. *Roſs*.

LETTER XXI.

To the Same [7].

A.U. 704. I Intreat you to take all proper meaſures for the recovery of your health. Let me requeſt likewiſe, that you would provide whatever may be neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture: and that you would ſend me frequent accounts how every thing goes on. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

To the Same.

I Have ſeldom an opportunity of writing; and ſcarce any thing to ſay that I chooſe to truſt in a letter. I find by your laſt, that you cannot meet with a purchaſer for any of our farms. I beg therefore you would conſider of ſome other method of raiſing money, in order to ſatisfy that perſon who, you are ſenſible, I am very deſirous ſhould be paid [8].

[7] This letter was probably written ſoon after the foregoing, and from the ſame place.

[8] This letter, as well as the two former, was written while Cicero was with Pompey in Greece. The buſineſs at which he ſo obſcurely hints, has been thought to relate to the pay-

I am by no means ſurpriſed that you ſhould A.U. 704.
have received the thanks of our friend: as I dare ſay ſhe had great reaſon to acknowledge your kindneſs.

If Pollex [9] is not yet ſet out, I deſire you would exerciſe your authority, and force the loiterer to depart immediately. Farewel.

July the 15th.

ment of part of Tullia's portion to Dolabella. But it ſeems evident from the 4th epiſtle of the 11th book to Atticus, that Cicero was not at this time come to any reſolution, concerning the ſecond payment of his daughter's portion: for in a poſtſcript he deſires the ſentiments of Atticus upon that ſubject. *De penſione altera*, ſays he, *oro te omni cura conſidera quid faciendum ſit. Ad At.* xi. 4. Now that this letter to Atticus was written about the ſame time with the preſent to Terentia, appears from hence, that Cicero plainly refers in it to the ſame epiſtle to which this before us is an anſwer. *Ex proximis cognovi prædia non veniſſe:* [*Ad At. ibid.*] which tallies with what he ſays in the letter under examination: *ex tuis literis, quas proxime accepi, cognovi prædium nullum venire potuiſſe*; and proves that the date of each muſt have been nearly, if not exactly, coincident. For theſe reaſons it ſeems neceſſary to look out for another interpretation of the preſent paſſage: and from the cautious circumſtance of the name being ſuppreſſed, it may be ſuſpected that Cæſar is the perſon meant. It is certain at leaſt, that Cicero owed him a ſum of money; concerning which he expreſſes ſome uneaſineſs to Atticus, upon the breaking out of the civil war: as hecould not indeed continue in Cæſar's debt with any honour, after he had joined the party againſt him. *Ad At.* vii. 3.

[9] It appears by a letter to Atticus, that this perſon acted as a ſort of ſteward in Cicero's family. *Ad At.* xiii. 47.

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LETTER XXIII.

To the Same.

A.U. 704. MAY the joy you express at my safe arrival in Italy[1], be never interrupted! But my mind was so much discomposed by those atrocious injuries I had received[2], that I have taken a step, I fear, which may be attended with great difficulties[3]. Let me then intreat your utmost

[1] After the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero would not engage himself any farther with the Pompeian party: but having endeavoured to make his peace with Cæsar by the mediation of Dolabella, he seems to have received no other answer, than an order to return immediately into Italy. And this he accordingly did a few days before the date of the present letter. *Ad At.* xi. 7.

[2] Cicero, who was somewhat indisposed and much out of humour, did not attend Pompey when he marched from Dyrrachium in order to follow Cæsar. Cato was likewise left behind, with fifteen cohorts, to conduct the baggage: but upon the news of Pompey's defeat in the plains of Pharsalia, he pressed Cicero to take upon himself the command of those troops, as being of superior rank in the republic. Cicero, who had all along declined accepting any commission in Pompey's army, was not disposed, it may well be imagined, to be more active against Cæsar, when the latter had just obtained a most signal victory. Accordingly he absolutely refused this offer which Cato made; declaring at the same time his resolution of withdrawing from the common cause. This exasperated the young Pompey and his friends to such a degree, that they would have killed Cicero upon the spot, if Cato had not generously interposed, and conducted him safely out of the camp. It is probably to this outrage that he here alludes. *Ad At.* xi. 4. *Plut. in vit. Cic.*

[3] It has been observed, that Cicero scarce ever executed an important resolution, of which he did not immediately

assistance:

assistance: tho' I must confess at the same time, A.U. 704.
that I know not wherein it can avail me.

I would by no means have you think of coming hither. For the journey is both long and dangerous; and I do not see in what manner you could be of any service. Farewel.

Brundisium, Nov. the 5th.

repent. This at least was the situation of his mind, in the present instance: and he was no sooner arrived in Italy, than he began to condemn himself for having too hastily determined upon that measure. The letters which he wrote to Atticus at this period, and which comprise almost the 11th book of those epistles, contain little else than so many proofs of this assertion. Cicero imagined after the decisive action that had lately happened in the plains of Pharsalia, that the chiefs of the Pompeian party would instantly sue for peace. But Cæsar, instead of directly pursuing his victory, suffered himself to be diverted by a war altogether foreign to his purpose, and in which the charms of Cleopatra, perhaps, carried him farther than he at first intended. This gave the Pompeians an opportunity of collecting their scattered forces, and of forming a very considerable army in Africa. As this circumstance was utterly unexpected by Cicero, it occasioned him infinite disquietude, and produced those reproaches which he is perpetually throwing out upon himself in the letters abovementioned to Atticus. For if the republican party should, after all, have returned triumphant into Italy, he knew he should be treated as one who had merited their utmost resentment.

This and the following letters in this book to Terentia, were written during the interval of Cicero's arrival at Brundisium and Cæsar's return into Italy: which contains a period of about eleven months.

LET-

LETTER XXIV.

To the Same.

A.U. 704. THE ill ſtate of health into which Tullia is fallen, is a very ſevere addition to the many and great diſquietudes that afflict my mind [4]. But I need ſay nothing farther upon this ſubject: as I am ſure her welfare is no leſs a part of your tender concern than it is of mine.

I agree both with you and her in thinking it proper, that I ſhould advance nearer to Rome [5]: and I ſhould have done ſo before now, if I had not been prevented by ſeveral difficulties, which I am not yet able to remove. But I am in expectation of a letter from Atticus, with his ſentiments upon this ſubject: and I beg you

[4] The anxiety which Cicero laboured under at this juncture, was undoubtedly ſevere. Beſides the uneaſineſs mentioned in the laſt remark, he was likewiſe under great diſquietude from the uncertainty of the diſpoſition in which Cæſar ſtood towards him. And to add yet more to the diſcompoſure of his mind, it was at this time that he received the cruel uſage from his brother, of which an account has been given in rem. 7. p. 110, of this vol. He had ſtill greater misfortunes of a domeſtic kind, to increaſe the weight of his ſorrows: which will be pointed out as they ſhall occaſionally offer themſelves in the remaining letters to Terentia.

[5] Cicero was ſtill at Brundiſium: from which place all the following letters in this book to Terentia, except the laſt, ſeem to have been written.

would

would forward it to me by the earlieſt opportu- A.U. 704.
nity. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

To the Same.

IN addition to my other misfortunes, I have now to lament the illneſs both of Dolabella and Tullia. The whole frame of my mind is indeed ſo utterly diſcompoſed, that I know not what to reſolve, or how to act, in any of my affairs. I can only conjure you to take care of yourſelf and of Tullia. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

To the Same.

IF any thing occurred worth communicating to you, my letters would be more frequent and much longer. But I need not tell you the ſituation of my affairs; and as to the effect they have upon my mind; I leave it to Lepta and Trebatius to inform you. I have only to add my intreaties, that you would take care of your own and Tullia's health. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXVII.

To Titius [6].

A.U. 704. THERE is none of your friends leſs capable than I am, to offer conſolation to you under your preſent affliction: as the ſhare I take in your loſs [7], renders me greatly in need of the ſame good office myſelf. However, as my grief does not riſe to the ſame extreme degree as your's, I ſhould not think I diſcharged the duty which my connexion and friendſhip with you require, if I remained altogether ſilent at a time when you are thus overwhelmed with ſorrow. I determined therefore to ſuggeſt a few reflections to you which may alleviate at leaſt, if not entirely remove, the anguiſh of your heart.

There is no maxim of conſolation more common, yet at the ſame time there is none which deſerves to be more frequently in our thoughts,

[6] It is altogether uncertain who the perſon is to whom this letter is addreſſed: perhaps the ſame to whom the 16th of the third book is written. See rem. [4], p. 248. vol. 1. The preciſe date likewiſe is extremely doubtful: however, the opinion of Dranſfeld is here followed, who in his edition of theſe epiſtles, has placed it under the preſent year.

[7] Of his ſon.

than

than that we ought to remember, "We are A.U. 704.
"men;" that is, creatures who are born to be
expoſed to calamities of every kind: and there-
fore, "that it becomes us to ſubmit to the con-
"ditions by which we hold our exiſtence, with-
"out being too much dejected by accidents
"which no prudence can prevent." In a word,
that we ſhould learn by "reflecting on the miſ-
"fortunes which have attended others, that
"there is nothing ſingular in thoſe which befal
"ourſelves." But neither theſe, nor other ar-
guments to the ſame purpoſe which are inculcated
in the writings of the philoſophers, ſeem to have
ſo ſtrong a claim to ſucceſs, as thoſe which may
be drawn from the preſent unhappy ſituation of
public affairs, and that endleſs ſeries of misfor-
tunes which is riſing upon our country. They
are ſuch indeed, that one cannot but account
thoſe to be moſt fortunate, who never knew what
it was to be a parent: and as to thoſe perſons who
are deprived of their children, in theſe times of
general anarchy and miſ-rule, they have much
leſs reaſon to regret their loſs, than if it had hap-
pened in a more flouriſhing period of the common-
wealth, or while yet the republic had any exiſt-
ence. If your tears flow, indeed, from this acci-
dent merely as it affects your own perſonal happi-
neſs;

A.U. 704. neſs; it may be difficult perhaps entirely to reſtrain them. But if your ſorrow takes its riſe from a more enlarged and benevolent principle; if it be for the ſake of the dead themſelves that you lament, it may be an eaſier taſk to aſſuage your grief. I ſhall not here inſiſt upon an argument, which I have frequently heard maintained in ſpeculative converſations, as well as often read likewiſe in treatiſes that have been written upon this ſubject. "Death," ſay thoſe philoſophers, "cannot be conſidered as an evil: becauſe if "any conſciouſneſs remains after our diſſolution, "it is rather an entrance into immortality, than "an extinction of life: and if none remains, there "can be no miſery where there is no ſenſibility [s]."

[s] The notion of a future ſtate of *poſitive* puniſhment, ſeems to have been rejected by the antient philoſophers in general; both by thoſe who maintained the eternal, and thoſe who only held the temporary duration of the ſoul after death. Thus Cicero and Seneca, tho' of different ſects, yet agree in treating the fears of this ſort, as merely a poetical deluſion: [*Tuſcul. Diſput. l.* 21, 30. *Senec. Conſolat. ad Marc.* 19.] and even Socrates himſelf affixes no other penalty to the moſt atrocious deviations from moral rectitude, than that of a ſimple excluſion from the manſions of the gods. This ſhews how impotent the pureſt ſyſtems of the beſt philoſophers muſt have been, for the moral government of mankind: ſince they thus dropped one of the moſt powerful of all ſanctions for that purpoſe; the terrors of an actual chaſtiſement. The comparative number of thoſe is infinitely ſmall, whoſe conduct does not give reaſon to ſuſpect that they would be willing to exchange ſpiritual joys in reverſion, for the full gratification of an importunate appetite in preſent: and the intereſt of virtue can alone be ſufficiently guarded by the divine aſſurance of *intenſe puniſhment*, as well as of *complete happineſs hereafter*.

Not

Not to inſiſt, I ſay, upon any reaſonings of this nature; let me remind you of an argument which I can urge with much more confidence. He who has made his exit from a ſcene where ſuch dreadful confuſion prevails, and where ſo many approaching calamities are in proſpect, cannot poſſibly, it ſhould ſeem, be a loſer by the exchange. Let me aſk, not only where honour, virtue, and probity, where true philoſophy and the uſeful arts, can now fly for refuge; but where even our liberties and our lives can be ſecure? For my own part, I have never once heard of the death of any youth during all this laſt ſad year, whom I have not conſidered as kindly delivered by the immortal gods from the miſeries of theſe wretched times. If therefore you can be perſuaded to think that their condition is by no means unhappy, whoſe loſs you ſo tenderly deplore; it muſt undoubtedly prove a very conſiderable abatement of your preſent affliction. For it will then entirely ariſe from what you feel upon your own account; and have no relation to the perſons whoſe death you regret. Now it would ill agree with thoſe wiſe and generous maxims which have ever inſpired your breaſt, to be too ſenſible of misfortunes which terminate in your own perſon, and affect not the happineſs of thoſe you love. You have upon all A.U. 705.

A.U. 705. occaſions both public and private, ſhewn yourſelf animated with the firmeſt fortitude: and it becomes you to act up to the character you have thus juſtly acquired. Time neceſſarily wears out the deepeſt impreſſions of ſorrow: and the weakeſt mother that ever loſt a child, has found ſome period to her grief. But we ſhould wiſely anticipate that effect which a certain revolution of days will undoubtedly produce: and not wait for a remedy from time, which we may much ſooner receive from reaſon.

If what I have ſaid can any thing avail in leſſening the weight of your affliction, I ſhall have obtained my wiſh: If not, I ſhall at leaſt have diſcharged the duties of that friendſhip and affection which, believe me, I ever have preſerved, and ever ſhall preſerve towards you. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII.

To TERENTIA.

MY affairs are at preſent in ſuch a ſituation, that I have no reaſon to expect a letter on your part, and have nothing to communicate to you on mine. Yet I know not how it is, I can no more forbear flattering myſelf that I may hear from

from you, than I can refrain from writing to you whenever I meet with a conveyance. A.U. 705.

Volumnia ought to have ſhewn herſelf more zealous for your intereſt: and in the particular inſtance you mention, ſhe might have acted with greater care and caution. This however is but a ſlight grievance amongſt others which I far more ſeverely feel and lament. They have the effect upon me indeed, which thoſe perſons undoubtedly wiſhed[9], who compelled me into meaſures utterly oppoſite to my own ſentiments. Farewel.

December the 31ſt.

[9] The commentators are divided in their opinions concerning the perſons to whom Cicero here alludes: as they are likewiſe as to the year when this letter was written. There are two periods indeed of Cicero's life, with which this epiſtle will equally co-incide: the time when he was in baniſhment, and the time when he returned into Italy, after the defeat of Pompey. The opinion however of Victorius has been followed, in placing this letter under the preſent year: who ſuppoſes, not without probability, that the perſons here meant are the ſame of whom Cicero complains in the 23d letter of this book.

LETTER XXIX.

To ACILIUS, Proconſul [a].

A.U. 706. LUcius Manlius Soſis was formerly a citizen of Catina [b]; but having afterwards obtained the freedom of Naples, he is at preſent one of the members of their council. He is likewiſe a citizen of Rome; having been admitted to that privilege with the reſt of the Neapolitans, in conſequence of the general grant which was made for that purpoſe to our allies and the inhabitants of Latium. He has lately ſucceeded to an eſtate at Catina, by the death of his brother: and is now in actual poſſeſſion. But tho'

[a] He was governor of Sicily: which is all that is known of his hiſtory. The laborious and accurate Pighius places his adminiſtration of that iſland, under the preſent year: and Mr. Roſs aſſigns a very good reaſon for being of the ſame opinion. For it appears (as that gentleman obſerves) that Cicero's correſpondence with Acilius was carried on when the latter was proconſul of Sicily, and during the time that Cæſar had the ſupreme authority. It is probable therefore that theſe letters were written in the preſent year; becauſe in all the others that fall within that period, the perſons who ſeverally preſided in Sicily are known to have been Poſthumius Albinus, Aulus Allienus, and Titus Furſanius. *See Mr. Roſs's rem. on the Epiſt. Famil. vol. 2. p. 502.*

[b] A maritime city in Sicily, now called Catania. It continued to be a town of conſiderable note, till the eruptions of mount Ætna in 1669 and 1693, which almoſt entirely laid it in ruins.

I do

I do not imagine that his right is likely to be controverted; yet as he has other affairs of conſequence in Sicily, I recommend his concerns of every kind in that iſland to your protection. But I particularly recommend himſelf to you as a moſt worthy man; as one with whom I am intimately connected; and as a perſon who excels in thoſe ſciences I principally admire. Whether therefore he ſhall think proper to return into Sicily or not, I deſire you would conſider him as my very particular friend: and that you would treat him in ſuch a manner as to convince him that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel. A.U. 706.

LETTER XXX.

To Terentia.

TULLIA arrived here [1] on the 12th of this month [2]. It extremely affected me to ſee a woman of her ſingular and amiable virtues reduced (and reduced too by my own negligence) to a ſituation far other than is agreeable to her rank and filial piety [3].

[1] Brundiſium: where Cicero was ſtill waiting for Cæſar's arrival from Egypt.

[2] June.

[3] Dolabella was greatly embarraſſed in his affairs: and it

A.U. 706. I have ſome thoughts of ſending my ſon accompanied by Salluſtius, with a letter to Cæſar [4]: and if I ſhould execute this deſign, I will let you know when he ſets out. In the mean time be careful of your health I conjure you. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

To the Same.

I Had determined, agreeably to what I mentioned in my former, to ſend my ſon to meet Cæſar on his return to Italy. But I have ſince altered my reſolution: as I hear no news of his arrival. For the reſt I refer you to Sicca, who will inform you what meaſures I think neceſſary to be taken: tho' I muſt add, that nothing new has occurred ſince I wrote laſt. Tullia is ſtill with me.—Adieu, and take all poſſible care of your health.

June the 20th.

ſeems by this paſſage as if he had not allowed Tullia a maintenance during his abſence abroad, ſufficient to ſupport her rank and dignity. The negligence with which Cicero reproaches himſelf, probably relates to his not having ſecured a proper ſettlement on his daughter, when he made the ſecond payment of her fortune to Dolabella. For in a letter written to Atticus about this time, he expreſsly condemns himſelf for having acted imprudently in that affair. *In penſione ſecunda*, ſays he, *cæci fuimus. Ad At.* xi. 19.

[4] In order to ſupplicate Cæſar's pardon, for having engaged againſt him on the ſide of Pompey.

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LETTER XXXII.

To ACILIUS, Proconſul.

CAIUS Flavius, an illuſtrious Roman knight, of an honourable family, is one with whom I live in great intimacy: he was a very particular friend likewiſe of my ſon-in-law Piſo. Both he and his brother Lucius ſhew me the ſtrongeſt inſtances of their regard. I ſhall receive it therefore as an honour done to myſelf, if you will treat Caius with all the higheſt marks of favour and diſtinction, that ſhall be conſiſtent with your character and dignity: and be aſſured you cannot in any article more effectually oblige me, than by complying with this requeſt. I will add, that the rank which he bears in the world, the credit in which he ſtands with thoſe of his own order, together with his polite and grateful diſpoſition, will afford you reaſon to be extremely well ſatisfied with the good offices you ſhall confer upon him. When I ſay this, believe me, I am not prompted by any intereſted motives, but ſpeak the ſincere dictates of truth and friendſhip. Farewel. A.U. 706.

LETTER XXXIII.

TO TERENTIA.

A.U. 706. I Wrote to Atticus (ſomewhat later indeed than I ought) concerning the affair you mention. When you talk with him upon that head, he will inform you of my inclinations: and I need not be more explicit here, after having written ſo fully to him [5]. Let me know as ſoon as poſſible what ſteps are taken in that buſineſs: and acquaint me at the ſame time with every thing elſe which concerns me. I have only to add my requeſt, that you would be careful of your health. Farewel.

July the 9th.

[5] Mr. Roſs ſuppoſes that the letter to which Cicero refers, is the 19th of the 11th book to Atticus. If this conjecture be right (as it is highly probable) the buſineſs hinted at, concerned the making of Terentia's will, and alſo the raiſing of money towards the ſupport of Tullia, by the ſale of ſome plate and furniture. *Ad At.* xi. 19, 20.

LET-

LETTER XXXIV.

To the Same.

IN anſwer to what you object concerning the divorce I mentioned in my laſt [6], I can only ſay, that I am perfectly ignorant what power Dolabella may at this time poſſeſs, or what ferments there may be among the populace [7]. However, if you think there is any thing to be apprehended A.U. 706.

[6] Between Tullia and Dolabella. The occaſion of this divorce is ſo darkly hinted at in the letters to Atticus, that it is altogether impoſſible to penetrate into the reaſons that produced it: one however ſeems to have ariſen from an intrigue that was carrying on between Dolabella and Metella. This lady was wife to Lentulus Spinther (to whom ſeveral letters in the firſt and ſecond book of this collection are addreſſed) and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon whom Horace mentions to have had a commerce of gallantry with the ſon of the celebrated tragedian Æſopus. See rem. 6. p. 119. vol. i. *Ad At.* xi. 20.

[7] Dolabella was at this time tribune of the people, and employing the power and credit with which he was inveſted by that office, to the moſt ſeditious purpoſes. Among other attempts, he endeavoured to procure a law for the general cancelling of all debts, and likewiſe to oblige the proprietors of houſes in Rome, to remit one year's rent to their reſpective tenants. The diſturbances ran ſo high, that the ſenate was under a neceſſity of ſuffering Antony to enter Rome with a body of troops, and no leſs than 800 citizens loſt their lives upon this occaſion. But nothing proved effectual for quieting theſe commotions, till it was known that Cæſar, after having finiſhed the war in Egypt, was actually upon his return into Italy. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Dio.* xlii. *Liv. Epit.* 113.

from

A.U. 706. from his reſentment; let the matter reſt: and perhaps the firſt propoſal may come from himſelf[8]. Nevertheleſs I leave you to act as you ſhall judge proper; not doubting that you will take ſuch meaſures in this moſt unfortunate affair, as ſhall appear to be attended with the feweſt unhappy conſequences. Farewel.

July the 10th.

LETTER XXXV.

To ACILIUS, Proconſul.

MArcus and Caius Clodius, together with Archagathus and Philo, all of them inhabitants of the noble and elegant city of Haleſa, are perſons with whom I am united by every tie of friendſhip and hoſpitality. But I am afraid if I recommend ſo many at once to your particular favour, you will be apt to ſuſpect that I write merely from ſome motive of an intereſted kind: tho' indeed both myſelf and my friends have reaſon to be abundantly ſatisfied with the regard you always pay to my letters of this nature. Let me aſſure you then, that both Archagathus and Phi-

[8] The paſſage in the original is extremely corrupt. The tranſlation has adopted the reading propoſed by Mr. Roſs: *ſed ſi metuendus iratus eſt; quieſce: tum ab illo fortaſſe naſcetur.*

Id,

lo, as alſo the whole family of the Clodii, have by a long ſeries of affectionate offices, a right to my beſt aſſiſtance. I very earneſtly intreat you therefore, as an obligation that will be highly agreeable to me, that you would promote their intereſt upon all occaſions, as far as the honour and dignity of your character ſhall permit. Farewel. A.U. 706.

LETTER XXXVI.

To Cassius.

IT was the hope that peace would be reſtored to our country, and the abhorrence of ſpilling the blood of our fellow-citizens, that equally induced both you and myſelf to decline an obſtinate perſeverance in the civil war [a]. But

[a] Cæſar after the battle of Pharſalia, croſſed the Helleſpont in purſuit of Pompey. Caſſius, who was at the ſame time ſailing in thoſe ſtreights with a very conſiderable fleet, might with great eaſe have deſtroyed him; as Cæſar was in no condition to have reſiſted ſo powerful an armament. But Caſſius choſe to act a moſt unworthy and treacherous part, by deſerting with his whole fleet to the conqueror. Some of the hiſtorians account for this conduct, by aſſuring us that he was ſtruck with a kind of panic at the amazing fortune of Cæſar, which rendered him incapable of making any farther reſiſtance. Whereas it appears by the preſent letter, to have been in conſequence of a very extraordinary reſolution he had formed in concert with Cicero, of reſting the cauſe of liberty, for ſo they called it, upon a ſingle engagement. *Suet. in Jul.* 63. *Appian. B. C.* 483.

tho'

A.U. 706. tho' theſe ſentiments were common to us both, yet as I am conſidered as having been the firſt to inſpire you with them, it is more my part, perhaps, to render you ſatisfied with having adopted them, than it is yours to perform the ſame friendly office towards me. But to ſay the truth, (and it is a circumſtance upon which I frequently reflect) we mutually convinced each other in the free converſations we held upon this ſubject, that a ſingle battle, if it ſhould not wholly determine our cauſe, ought to be the limits however of our particular oppoſition. And theſe ſentiments have never ſeriouſly been condemned by any, but by thoſe alone who think it more eligible that our conſtitution ſhould be totally deſtroyed, than in any degree impaired. But my opinion was far otherwiſe: for I had no views to gratify by its extinction, and had much to hope from its remains. As to the conſequences which have ſince enſued; they lay far beyond the reach of human diſcernment: and the wonder is, not ſo much how they eſcaped our penetration, as how it was poſſible they ſhould have happened. I muſt confeſs my own opinion always was, that the battle of Pharſalia would be deciſive: and I imagined that the victors would act with a regard to the common preſervation of all, and the vanquiſhed to their own. But both the one

and

and the other, I was well aware, depended on A.U. 706.
the expedition with which the conquerors ſhould purſue their ſucceſs. And had they purſued it immediately, thoſe who have ſince carried the war into Africa [b], would have experienced (and experienced too, if I do not flatter myſelf, by my interceſſion) the ſame clemency with which the reſt of our party have been treated, who retired into Aſia and Achaia. But the critical opportunity (that ſeaſon ſo important in all tranſactions, and eſpecially in a civil war) was unhappily loſt: and a whole year intervening, it raiſed the ſpirits of ſome of our party to hope they might recover the victory; and rendered others ſo deſperate as not to dread the reverſe. Fortune, however, muſt be anſwerable for the whole train of evils, which this delay has produced. For who would have imagined either that the Alexandrine war could have been drawn out to ſo great a length; or that the paltry Pharnaces could have ſtruck ſuch a terror throughout Aſia [c].

[b] See rem. 3. p. 154. of this vol.

[c] Pharnaces was ſon of the famous Mithridates, king of Pontus. [See rem. 2. p. 2. vol. i.] This young prince taking advantage of Cæſar's being engaged in the Alexandrine war, made an incurſion into Cappadocia and the Leſſer Armenia; the dominions of Deiotarus, a tributary king to the Romans. Domitius Calvinus, whom Cæſar had appointed to command in Aſia and the neighbouring provinces, having received notice of this invaſion, marched immediately to the aſſiſtance of Deiotarus. The two armies came to

But

A.U. 706. But tho' we both acted by the ſame meaſures; our preſent ſituations however are extremely different. The ſcheme which you thought proper to execute, has given you admiſſion into Cæſar's councils, and opened a proſpect to you of his future purpoſes: an advantage moſt certainly, that muſt ſpare you all the uneaſineſs which attends a ſtate of doubt and ſuſpence. Whereas for myſelf, as I imagined that Cæſar would immediately after the battle of Pharſalia have returned into Italy, I haſtened hither in order to encourage and improve that pacific diſpoſition which he had diſcovered, by his generoſity to ſo many of his illuſtrious enemies: by which means, I have ever ſince been ſeparated from him by an immenſe diſtance. Here in truth I ſit the ſad witneſs of thoſe complaints [d] that are poured forth in Rome,

an engagement, in which Pharnaces had the ſuperiority. Caſſinus at the ſame time being called away by Cæſar, who had occaſion for thoſe troops to complete the conqueſt of Alexandria, Pharnaces took that opportunity of entering Pontus: which he ſeiſed as his hereditary dominions; and where he committed great cruelties and devaſtation. This letter ſeems to have been written ſoon after the tranſaction above related: and probably while Cæſar himſelf was on the march in order to chaſtiſe the inſolence of Pharnaces. It was in giving an account of this expedition, that Cæſar made uſe of that celebrated expreſſion in a letter to one of his friends, *Veni, vidi, vici. Hirt. Bel. Alexand.* 31. *Plut. in vit. Cæſar.*

[d] Cæſar, after the battle of Pharſalia, ſent Mark Antony into Italy as his maſter of the horſe: an office, in the abſence of the dictator, of ſupreme authority in the common-

and throughout all Italy: complaints which both you and I, according to our reſpective powers, might contribute ſomewhat to remove, if Cæſar were preſent to ſupport us. A.U. 706.

I intreat you then, to communicate to me, agreeably to your wonted friendſhip, all that you obſerve and think concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs: in a word, that you would inform me what we are to expect, and how you would adviſe me to act. Be aſſured I ſhall lay great ſtreſs upon your ſentiments, and had I wiſely followed thoſe you gave me in your firſt letter from Luceria [a], I might without difficulty have ſtill preſerved my dignities. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

To Acilius, Proconſul.

THERE is no man of the ſame rank as Otacilius Naſo, with whom I more intimately converſe: as indeed the polite and vir-

wealth. But Antony abuſed the power with which he was thus inveſted; and taking advantage of the diſturbances mentioned in rem. 7. p. 169. of this vol. turned them to his private purpoſes, by enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of his fellow citizens. This ſeems to have been the occaſion of thoſe general complaints to which Cicero here alludes. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Cic. Phil.* ii. 24. 25.

[a] Now called Lucera: a city of Italy ſituated in the Capitinata, a part of the antient Apulia.

tuous

A.U. 706. tuous caſt of his mind, renders my daily intercourſe with him extremely pleaſing to me. After having thus acquainted you with the terms upon which we live together, I need add nothing farther to recommend him to your good opinion. He has ſome affairs in your province which he has entruſted to the management of his freedmen Hilarus, Antigonus, and Demoſtratus: theſe therefore, together with all the concerns of Naſo, I beſeech you to receive under your protection. I aſk this with the ſame warmth as if I were perſonally intereſted: and be aſſured, I ſhall think myſelf highly obliged, if I ſhould find that this letter ſhall have had great weight with you. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To TERENTIA.

I Have not yet heard any news either of Cæſar's arrival, or of his letter which Philotimus, I was informed, had in charge to deliver to me. But be aſſured, you ſhall immediately receive the firſt certain intelligence I ſhall be able to ſend you. Take care of your health. Adieu.

Auguſt the 11th.

LET-

LETTER XXXIX.

To the Same.

I Have at laſt received a letter from Cæſar: A.U. 706.
and written in no unfavourable terms [9]. It is now ſaid that he will be in Italy much ſooner than was expected. I have not yet reſolved whether to wait for him here, or to meet him on his way: but as ſoon as I ſhall have determined that point, I will let you know.

I beg you would immediately ſend back this meſſenger: and let me conjure you at the ſame time to take all poſſible care of your health. Farewel.

Auguſt the 12th.

[9] This letter is not extant; but Cicero mentions the purport of it in one of his orations: by which it appears that Cæſar therein aſſured our author that he would preſerve to him his former ſtate and dignities. *Pro Ligar.* 3.

LETTER XL.

To Acilius, Proconſul.

A.U. 706. I Have been an old and hereditary gueſt [a] at the houſe of Lyſo of Lilybæum [b], ever ſince the time of his grand-father; and he accordingly diſtinguiſhes me with ſingular marks of his reſpect: as indeed I have found him to be worthy of that illuſtrious anceſtry from which he deſcends. For this reaſon I very ſtrenuouſly recommend both himſelf and his family to your good offices: and intreat you to let him ſee, that my recommendation has proved much to his honour and advantage. Farewel.

[a] Cicero was proquæſtor of Sicily in the year of Rome 678: and he afterwards viſited that iſland in order to furniſh himſelf with evidence againſt Verres, the late governor; whom he had undertaken to impeach for his oppreſſive and cruel adminiſtration of that province. It was probably upon theſe occaſions that he had been entertained at the houſe of Lyſo, as well as of ſeveral others whom he recommends in his letters to Acilius, as perſons to whom he was indebted for the rites of hoſpitality.

[b] A ſea-port town in Sicily, now called Marſala.

LET-

LETTER XLI.

To Terentia.

I Am in daily expectation of my couriers, whoſe return will, perhaps, render me leſs doubtful what courſe to purſue [1]. As ſoon as they ſhall arrive, I will give you immediate notice. Mean while, be careful of your health. Farewel. A.U. 706.

September the 1ſt.

LETTER XLII.

To the Same.

I Purpoſe to be at my Tuſculan villa about the 7th or 8th of this month [2]. I beg that every thing may be ready for my reception: as I ſhall perhaps bring ſeveral friends with me; and I

[1] Whether to wait at Brundiſium the arrival of Cæſar, or to ſet out in order to meet him.

[2] "Cicero continued at Brundiſium, till Cæſar arrived in "Italy: who came much ſooner than was expected, and "landed at Tarentum ſome time in September. They had "an interview with each other, which ended much to the "ſatisfaction of Cicero: who intending to follow Cæſar to-"wards Rome, wrote this letter to his wife, to prepare for "his reception at his Tuſculan villa." *Reſt rem. on Cic. Epiſtles.*

A.U. 706. may probably too continue there ſome time. If a vaſe is wanting in the bath, let it be ſupplied with one: and I deſire you would likewiſe provide whatever elſe may be neceſſary for the health and entertainment of my gueſts. Farewel.

Venuſia [3], October the 1ſt.

LETTER XLIII.

To ACILIUS, Proconſul.

CAIUS Avianus Philoxenus is my old hoſt. But beſides this connection, he is likewiſe my particular friend: and it was in conſequence of my good offices, that Cæſar admitted him into the corporation of Novocomum. It was upon this occaſion he aſſumed the family name of his friend Flaccus Avianus: whom I believe you know to be likewiſe extremely mine. I mention theſe circumſtances as ſo many proofs, that my recommendation of Philoxenus is not founded upon common motives. I intreat you then to receive him into the number of your friends; to aſſiſt him in every inſtance that ſhall not break in upon your own convenience; and in a word, to let him ſee that this letter ſhall have proved of

[3] Now called Venoſa: a town in the kingdom of Naples, ſituated at the foot of the Apennine mountains.

ſingular

ſingular ſervice to him. Your compliance with this requeſt will be obliging me in the moſt ſenſible manner. Farewel. A.U. 706.

LETTER XLIV.

TO TREBONIUS[4].

I Read your letter, but particularly the treatiſe that attended it [5], with great pleaſure. It was a pleaſure, nevertheleſs, not without its alloy: as I could not but regret that you ſhould leave us at a time when you had thus inflamed my heart, I do not ſay with a ſtronger affection, (for that, in truth, could admit of no increaſe)

[4] He was tribune in the year of Rome 698, at which time he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by being the principal promoter of thoſe unconſtitutional grants that were made by the people to Pompey, Cæſar, and Craſſus, for the enlargement of their power and dignities. After the expiration of his tribunate he went into Gaul, in quality of Cæſar's lieutenant: and on the breaking out of the civil war, he was honoured by Cæſar with the command at the ſiege of Marſeilles. In the year before the date of this letter, he was elected to the office of prætor, in which he diſcovered great ſpirit and judgment in oppoſing the factious meaſures of his collegue the turbulent Coelius: of whoſe attempts mention has been made in note 6. p. 145. of this vol. In the preſent year he was appointed proconſul of Spain: to which province he was either juſt ſetting out, or actually upon the road, when this letter was written. *Dio.* xxxix. p. 105. *Cæſar. de Bel. Civil.* i. 36. iii. 20. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 64. For a farther account of Trebonius ſee rem. 6. below, and rem. 8. p. 99. vol. iii.

[5] A collection of Cicero's *Bons Mots*.

A.U. 706. but with a more ardent desire of enjoying your company. My single consolation arises from the hope, that we shall endeavour to alleviate the pain of this absence by a mutual exchange of long and frequent letters. Whilst I promise this on my part, I assure myself of the same on yours: as indeed you have left me no room to doubt, how highly I stand in your regard. Need I mention those public instances I formerly received of your friendship, when you shewed the world that you considered my enemies as your own; when you stood forth my generous advocate in the assemblies of the people; when you acted with that spirit which the consuls ought to have shewn, in maintaining the cause of liberty by supporting mine; and tho' only a quæstor, yet refused to submit to the superior authority of a tribune, whilst your collegue at the same time meanly yielded to his measures [6]? Need I mention (what

[6] Trebonius was quæstor in the year of Rome 693, when Lucius Afranius and Quintus Metellus Celer were consuls. It was at this time that Clodius (desirous of obtaining the tribunate in order to oppress Cicero with the weight of that powerful magistracy) made his first effort to obtain a law for ratifying his adoption into a plebeian family; none but plebeians being entitled to exercise that office. The tribune to whom Cicero here alludes, is Herennius, whom Clodius had prevailed upon to propose this law to the people, and whose indigence and principles qualified him for undertaking any work for any man that would give him his price. Both the consuls were likewise favourers of this law, when it was first proposed: but Metellus when he discovered the fac-

I shall

I ſhall always however moſt gratefully remember) the more recent inſtances of your regard to me, in the ſollicitude you expreſſed for my ſafety when I engaged in the late war; in the joy you ſhewed when I return'd into Italy [7]; in your friendly participation of all thoſe cares and diſquietudes with which I was at that time oppreſſed [8]; and in a word, in your kind intent of viſiting me at Brundiſium [9], if you had not been ſuddenly ordered into Spain? To omit, I ſay, theſe various and ineſtimable proofs of your friendſhip; is not the treatiſe you have now ſent me, a moſt conſpicuous evidence of the ſhare I enjoy in your heart? It is ſo, indeed, in a double view: and not only as you are ſo partial as to be the conſtant, and perhaps ſingle, admirer of my wit, but as you have placed it likewiſe in ſo advantageous a light, as to render it, whatever it may be in itſelf, extremely agreeable. The truth of it is, your manner of relating my pleaſantries, is not leſs humorous than the conceits A.U. 706.

tious deſigns which Clodius had in view, thought proper afterwards moſt ſtrongly to oppoſe it. The collegue of Trebonius in the quæſtorſhip was Quintus Cæcilius Nepos: of whoſe particular enmity to Cicero an account has been given in rem. 8. on let. 2. of book i. and by Cicero himſelf in the third letter of the ſame book. *Ad At.* i. 18, 19. *Dio.* xxxvii. p. 53. *Pigh. Annal.* 693.

[7] After the battle of Pharſalia.

[8] See rem. 3. p. 154. of this vol.

[9] When he was waiting the arrival of Cæſar.

A.U. 706. you celebrate: and half the reader's mirth is exhauſted ere he arrives at my joke. In ſhort, if I had no other obligation to you for making this collection, than your having ſuffered me to be ſo long preſent to your thoughts, I ſhould be utterly inſenſible if it were not to impreſs upon me the moſt affectionate ſentiments. When I conſider indeed, that nothing but the warmeſt attachment could have engaged you in ſuch a work; I cannot ſuppoſe any man to have a greater regard for himſelf, than you have thus diſcovered for me. I wiſh it may be in my power to make you as ample a return in every other inſtance, as I moſt certainly do in the affection of my heart; a return, with which I truſt, however, you will be perfectly well ſatisfied.

But to return from your performance, to your very agreeable letter: full as it was, I may yet anſwer it in few words. Let me aſſure you then, in the firſt place, that I no more imagined the letter which I ſent to Calvus [10] would be made

[10] A very celebrated orator; who tho' not much above thirty when he died (which was a ſhort time before this letter was written) yet left behind him a large collection of orations: as he was concerned with Cicero in moſt of the principal cauſes that came into the forum during the ſhort time in which he flouriſhed. The letter here mentioned was probably part of a correſpondence carried on between Cicero and Calvus, on the ſubject of eloquence: the whole of which was extant long after the death of our author, tho' none of theſe epiſtles have reached our times. *Quinct. Inſt.* x. 1. *Auct. Dialog. de cauſ. corrupt. eloquent.* 18. 21.

public,

public, than I ſuſpect that this will: and you A.U. 706.
are ſenſible that a letter deſigned to go no farther than the hand to which it is addreſſed, is written in a very different manner from one intended for general inſpection. But you think, it ſeems, that I have ſpoken in higher terms of his abilities than truth will juſtify. It was my real opinion, however, that he poſſeſſed a great genius: and notwithſtanding that he miſapplied it by a wrong choice of that particular ſpecies of eloquence which he adopted, yet he certainly diſcovered great judgment in his execution. In a word, his compoſitions were marked with a vein of uncommon erudition: but they wanted a certain ſtrength and ſpirit of colouring to render them perfectly finiſhed. It was the attainment therefore of this quality, that I endeavoured to recommend to his purſuit: and the ſeaſoning of advice with applauſe, has a wonderful efficacy in firing the genius and animating the efforts of thoſe one wiſhes to perſuade [11]. This was the true motive

[11] "It is but allowing a man to be what he would have "the world think him, (ſays Sir Richard Steel) to make "him any thing elſe that one pleaſes." This judicious piece of flattery, however, deſerves to be highly applauded in the preſent inſtance: as it proceeded entirely from a deſire of benefiting the perſon on whom it was employed. But what renders it more remarkably generous is, that Calvus conteſted, tho' very unequally indeed, the palm of eloquence with Cicero. Yet the latter, we ſee, generouſly endeavoured to correct the taſte of his rival, and improve him into a leſs inadequate

of

A.U. 706. of the praiſes I beſtowed upon Calvus: of whoſe talents I really had a very high opinion.

I have only farther to aſſure you, that my affectionate wiſhes attend you in your journey; that I ſhall impatiently expect your return; that I ſhall faithfully preſerve you in my remembrance; and that I ſhall ſooth the uneaſineſs of your abſence by keeping up this epiſtolary commerce. Let me intreat you to reflect on your part, on the many and great good offices I have received at your hands: and which, tho' *you* may forget, I never can without being guilty of a moſt unpardonable ingratitude. It is impoſſible indeed you ſhould reflect on the obligations you have conferred upon me, without believing, not only that I have ſome merit, but that I think of you with the higheſt eſteem and affection. Farewel.

competitor. For Cicero was too conſcious of his ſublime abilities, to be infected with that low jealouſy ſo viſible in wits of an inferior rank, who ſeem to think they can only riſe in fame in proportion as they ſhall be able to ſink the merit of contemporary geniuſes. *Senec. Controverſ.* iii. 19.

LET-

LETTER XLV.

To Acilius, Proconſul.

I Have long had obligations to Demetrius Magus, for the generous reception he gave me when I was in Sicily [a]: indeed there is none of his countrymen with whom I ever entered into ſo ſtrong a friendſhip. At my particular inſtances, Dolabella prevailed with Cæſar to grant him the freedom of Rome; and I aſſiſted at the ceremony of his admiſſion: accordingly he now takes upon himſelf the name of Publius Cornelius. The ill uſe which ſome men of a mean and avaricious turn had made of Cæſar's confidence, by expoſing privileges of this kind to ſale, induced him to make a general revocation of theſe grants. However, he aſſured Dolabella in my preſence, that he had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſion with reſpect to Magus: for his benefaction, he ſaid, ſhould ſtill remain to him in its full force. I thought proper to mention this, that you might treat him with the conſideration which is due to a Roman citizen: and it is with the utmoſt zeal that I recommend him to your favour in all other reſpects. You cannot A.U. 706.

[a] See rem [a] p. 178. of this vol.

indeed

A.U. 706. indeed confer upon me an higher obligation, than by convincing my friend that this letter ſhall have procured him the honour of your peculiar regard. Farewel.

LETTER XLVI.

To SEXTILIUS RUFUS[1], Quæſtor.

I Recommend all the Cyprians in general to your protection, but particularly thoſe belonging to the diſtrict of Paphos[2]: and I ſhall hold myſelf obliged to you for any inſtance of your favour that you ſhall think proper to ſhew them. It is with the more willingneſs I apply to you in their behalf, as it much imports your character (in which I greatly intereſt myſelf) that you, who are the firſt quæſtor that ever held the government of Cyprus[3], ſhould form ſuch ordinances as may deſerve to be followed as ſo many precedents by your ſucceſſors. It will contribute, I hope, to this end, if you ſhall purſue that edict which was publiſhed by

[1] He was appointed governor of the iſland of Cyprus: as appears by the preſent letter. And this together with his commanding the fleet under Caſſius in Aſia, after the death of Cæſar, is the whole that is known of him.

[2] A city in the iſland of Cyprus.

[3] Before this time it was always annexed (as Manutius obſerves) to the province of Cilicia.

your

your friend Lentulus [4], together with thoſe which were enacted likewiſe by myſelf [5]: as your adopting them will prove, I truſt, much to your honour. Farewel. A.U. 706.

LETTER XLVII.

To ACILIUS, Proconſul.

I Strongly recommend my friend and hoſt Hippias to your good offices: he is a citizen of Calactina, and the ſon of Philoxenus. His eſtate (as the affair has been repreſented to me) has been illegally ſeiſed for the uſe of the public: and if this ſhould be the truth, your own equity, without any other recommendation, will ſufficiently incline you to ſee that juſtice is done him. But whatever the circumſtances of his caſe may be, I requeſt it as an honour to myſelf, and an honour too of the moſt obliging kind, that you would in this and in every other article in which he is concerned, favour him with your aſſiſtance: ſo far, I mean, as ſhall not be inconſiſtent with the honour and dignity of your character. Farewel.

[4] Lentulus Spinther: to whom ſeveral letters in the firſt and ſecond books of this collection are addreſſed. See rem. 1. p. 50. vol. 1.

[5] Cicero ſucceeded Appius in the government of Cilicia.

LET-

LETTER XLVIII.

To the Same.

A.U. 706. LUcius Bruttius, a young man of equeſtrian rank, is in the number of thoſe with whom I am moſt particularly intimate: there has been a great friendſhip likewiſe between his father and myſelf, ever ſince I was quæſtor in Sicily. He diſtinguiſhes me by peculiar marks of his obſervance: and is adorned with every valuable accompliſhment. He is at preſent my gueſt: but I moſt earneſtly recommend his family, his affairs and his agents, to your protection. You will confer upon me a moſt acceptable obligation, by giving him reaſon to find, (as indeed I have ventured to aſſure him he undoubtedly will) that this letter ſhall have proved much to his advantage. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XLIX.

To Lucius Papirius Pætus [b].

IS it true, my friend, that you look upon yourſelf as having been guilty of a moſt ridiculous piece of folly, in attempting to imitate the thunder, as you call it, of my eloquence? With reaſon indeed you might have thought ſo, had you failed in your attempt: but ſince you have excelled the model you had in view, the diſgrace ſurely is on my ſide, not on yours. The verſe therefore which you apply to yourſelf from one of Trabea's [c] comedies, may with much more juſtice be turned upon me: as my own eloquence falls far ſhort of that perfection at which I aim. But tell me, what ſort of figure do my letters make: are they not written, think you, in the true familiar? They do not conſtantly however, preſerve one uniform manner; as this ſpecies of compoſition bears no reſemblance to that of the oratorical kind: tho' indeed in judicial matters, we vary our ſtyle according to the nature of the cauſes in which we are engaged. Thoſe, A.U. 706.

[b] See vol. ii. p. 15. rem. 1.

[c] The time when this poet flouriſhed, is uncertain. His dramatic writings ſeem to have been in great repute, as Cicero frequently quotes them in his Tuſculan Diſputations.

A.U. 706. for example, in which private intereſts of little moment are concerned, we treat with a ſuitable ſimplicity of diction; but where the reputation or the life of our client is in queſtion, we riſe into greater pomp and dignity of phraſe. But whatever may be the ſubject of my letters, they ſtill ſpeak the language of converſation.

How came you to imagine, that all your family have been plebeians? when it is certain, that many of them were patricians, of the lower order[d]. To begin with the firſt in this catalogue, I will inſtance Lucius Papiſius Magillanus: who in the year of Rome 312, was cenſor with Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, as he before had been his collegue in the conſulate. At this time your family-name was Papiſius. After him there were thirteen of your anceſtors who were curule magiſtrates [e], before Lucius Papirius Craſſus, who was the firſt of your family that changed the name of Papiſius. This Papirius in the

[d] The patrician families were diſtinguiſhed into the higher and the lower order. Of the former ſort, were thoſe who derived their pedigree from the two hundred ſenators that compoſed the ſenate, as it was originally eſtabliſhed by Romulus: of the latter, were the deſcendants of the members which above a century afterwards were added to this celebrated council, by Tarquinius Priſcus. *Roſin. Antiquit. Rom.* p. 687.

[e] The curule magiſtrates were thoſe particular officers of the ſtate who had the privilege of being drawn in a car. Theſe were the conſuls, the cenſors, the prætors, and curule ædiles.

year

year 315 being choſen dictator, appointed Lucius Papirius Caſtor to be his maſter of the horſe: and four years afterwards he was elected conſul, together with Caius Duilius. Next in this liſt appears Curſor, a man highly honoured in his generation: and after him we find Lucius Maſſo, the ædile, together with ſeveral others of the ſame appellation. And I could wiſh that you had the portraits of all theſe patricians among your family-pictures. The Carbones and the Turdi follow next. This branch of your family were all of them plebeians: and they by no means reflect any honour upon your race. For excepting Caius Carbo, who was murdered by Damaſippus, there is not one of this name who was not an enemy to his country. There was another Caius whom I perſonally knew, as well as the buffoon his brother: they were both of them men of the moſt worthleſs characters. As to the ſon of Rubria, he was my friend: for which reaſon I ſhall paſs him over in ſilence, and only mention his three brothers, Caius, Cneius, and Marcus. Marcus having committed numberleſs acts of violence and oppreſſion in Sicily, was proſecuted for thoſe crimes by Publius Flaccus, and found guilty: Caius being likewiſe impeached by Lucius Craſſus, is ſaid to have poiſoned himſelf with cantharides. He was the author of great A.U. 706.

A.U. 706. diſturbances during the time that he exerciſed the office of tribune: and is ſuppoſed to have been concerned in the murder of Scipio Africanus. As to Cneius, who was put to death by my friend Pompey [f] at Lilybæum, there never exiſted, I believe, a more infamous character. It is generally imagined that the father of this man, in order to avoid the conſequences of a proſecution which was commenced againſt him by Marcus Antonius, put an end to his life by a draught of vitriol. Thus, my friend, I would adviſe you to claim your kindred among the patricians: for you ſee the plebeian part of your family were but a worthleſs and ſeditious race [g]. Farewel.

[f] This Cneius Papirius Carbo, was three times conſul: the laſt of which was in the year of Rome 671. Having exerciſed his power in a moſt oppreſſive and tyrannical manner, he was depoſed, to the great ſatisfaction of the republic, by Sylla: who was immediately declared dictator. Carbo ſoon afterwards appeared with a conſiderable fleet, upon the coaſt of Sicily: and being taken priſoner by Pompey, whom Sylla had ſent in purſuit of him, he was formally arraigned before the tribunal of Pompey, and publicly executed by his orders, at Lilybæum. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

[g] It may be proper to appriſe the reader in this place, that there is one epiſtle from Cicero to Pætus, which is omitted in this tranſlation. Cicero takes occaſion in this rejected letter, to explain to his friend the notion of the ſtoics concerning obſcenity: and in order to illuſtrate their abſurd reaſoning upon this ſubject, he introduces a great variety of *double entendres*, which as they turn upon ambiguities that hold only in the Latin language, it is utterly impoſſible to tranſlate. But had they been reconcileable to our idiom, the tranſlator would nevertheleſs have declined the office of being their interpreter: as he would not have deprived himſelf

LETTER L.

To ACILIUS, Proconſul.

I Have long had a friendſhip with the family of the Titurnii; the laſt ſurviving branch of which, is Marcus Titurnius Rufus. He has a claim therefore to my beſt good offices: and it is in your power to render them effectual. Accordingly I recommend him to your favour, in all the moſt unfeigned warmth of my heart: and you will extremely oblige me by giving him ſtrong proofs of the regard you pay to my recommendation. Farewel. A.U. 706.

of the ſatisfaction to think, that there is nothing in theſe volumes unfit for the peruſal of the fair part of his readers. *Vid. Epiſt. Famil.* ix. 22.

LETTERS
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero
TO
Several of his FRIENDS.

BOOK VIII.

LETTER I.

To MARCUS MARIUS[1].

WHEN ever I reflect, as indeed I frequently do, on thoſe public calamities we have thus long endured, and are ſtill likely to endure; it always brings to my thoughts the laſt interview we had together. It A.U. 709.

[1] See rem. 2. p. 116. vol. 1.

A.U. 707. made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon my mind, that I can name the very day: and I perfectly well remember it was on the 10th of May in the conſulate of Lentulus and Marcellus [1], that upon my arrival at my Pompeian villa [2], I found you waiting for me with the moſt friendly ſollicitude. Your generous concern aroſe from a tenderneſs both for my honour and my ſafety: as the former, you feared, would be endangered if I continued in Italy; and the latter, if I went to Pompey. I was myſelf likewiſe, as you undoubtedly perceived, ſo greatly perplexed, as to be incapable of determining which of theſe meaſures was moſt adviſable. However, I reſolved to ſacrifice all conſiderations of perſonal ſafety, to the dictates of my honour; and accordingly, I joined Pompey in Greece. But I no ſooner arrived in his army, than I had occaſion to repent of my reſolution: not ſo much from the danger to which I was myſelf expoſed, as from the many capital faults I diſcovered among them. In the firſt place, Pompey's forces were neither very conſiderable in point of numbers [3], nor by any

[1] An. Urb. 704 about two years before the date of this letter, which was probably written very early in the preſent year.

[2] "This villa of Cicero was ſituated near Pompeii, upon "the eaſtern coaſt of the bay of Naples, and at no great di- "ſtance from the villa of Marius." *Mr. Roſs.*

[3] Pompey's army at the battle of Pharſalia, was more than

means

means compoſed of warlike troops: and in the next place (I ſpeak however with exception of Pompey himſelf, and a few others of the principal leaders) they carried on the war with ſuch a ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs, and breathed ſuch principles of cruelty in their converſation, that I could not think even upon our ſucceſs without horror. To this I muſt add, that ſome of the moſt conſiderable officers were deeply involved in debt: and in ſhort, there was nothing good among them but their cauſe. Thus deſpairing of ſucceſs, I adviſed (what indeed I had always recommended) that propoſals of accommodation ſhould be offered to Cæſar: and when I found Pompey utterly averſe to all meaſures of that kind, I endeavoured to perſuade him at leaſt, to avoid a general engagement. This laſt advice he ſeemed ſometimes inclined to follow: and probably would have followed, if a ſlight advantage which he ſoon afterwards gained [4], had not given him a confidence in his troops. From that moment A.U. 707.

double in number to that of Cæſar; whoſe forces amounted only to about 22000 men. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

[4] Before the walls of Dyrrachium. Notwithſtanding Cicero ſpeaks with ſome ſort of contempt of this advantage which Pompey gained over the troops of Cæſar; yet it appears to have been very conſiderable. It was thought ſo at leaſt by Cæſar himſelf: who obſerved to ſome of his friends after the action was over, that the enemy would have obtained a complete victory, had they been commanded by a general that knew how to conquer. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

A.U. 707. all the ſkill and conduct of this great man ſeems to have utterly forſaken him: and he acted ſo little like a general, that with a raw and unexperienced army, he imprudently gave battle [5] to the moſt brave and martial legions. The conſequence was, that he ſuffered a moſt ſhameful defeat: and abandoning his camp to Cæſar, he was obliged to run away, unaccompanied even with a ſingle attendant [6]. This event determined me

[5] In the plains of Pharſalia. The principal officers of Pompey's army were ſo elated by their late ſucceſs before Dyrrachium, that they purſued Cæſar as to certain conqueſt: and inſtead of concerting meaſures for ſecuring their victory, were employed in warmly conteſting among themſelves their ſeveral proportions of the ſpoils. Pompey was not leſs confident of ſucceſs than the reſt: and he had the imprudence to declare, in a council of war which was holden a few days before this important battle, that he did not doubt of entirely defeating Cæſar by the ſingle ſtrength of his cavalry, and without engaging his legions in the action. *Cæſ. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 83. 86.

It is very obſervable, that the day on which this memorable battle was fought, is no where recorded; and that it was not known even in Lucan's time:

Tempora ſignavit leviorum Roma malorum,
Hunc voluit neſcire diem. LUC. vii. 410.

[6] Plutarch reſembles Pompey's flight, to that of Ajax before Hector, as deſcribed in the 11th Iliad:

Ζευς δε πατηρ Αιανθ' ὑψιζογος εν φοβον ωρσε·
Στη δε ταφων, &c.

——*Partial Jove eſpouſing Hector's part,*
Shot heav'n-bred horror thro' the Grecian's heart;
Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's preſence grown,
Amaz'd he ſtood, with horrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
And glaring round, by tardy ſteps withdrew. POPE.

to

to lay down my arms; being perſuaded, that if A.U. 707.
we could not prevail with our united forces, we ſhould ſcarce have better ſucceſs when they were broken and diſperſed. I declined, therefore, to engage any farther in a war, the reſult of which muſt neceſſarily be attended with one or other of the following unhappy conſequences: either to periſh in the field of battle, to be taken priſoner by the conquerors, to be ſacrificed by treachery [7], to have recourſe to Juba [8], to live in a ſort of vo-

In fact however, it was attended with all the circumſtances of diſgrace which Cicero mentions. Pompey, after various deliberations, reſolved to take ſhelter in Egypt, where he had reaſon to hope for a protector in Ptolemy, whoſe father he had formerly aſſiſted in recovering his dominions. [See vol. i. p. 51. rem. 2.] But Theodotus, a ſort of tutor to this young prince, not thinking it prudent either to receive Pompey, or to refuſe him admittance, propoſed, as the beſt policy, that he ſhould be deſtroyed. Accordingly the perſons who were ſent to conduct him from his ſhip, had directions to be his executioners: which they performed by ſtabbing him as he was ſtepping out of the boat in order to land. Theſe aſſaſſins, having ſevered Pompey's head, left his body on the ſhore; where it was burnt with the planks of an old fiſhing-boat, by a faithful freedman who had been the unhappy ſpectator of this affecting tragedy. Pompey's aſhes were afterwards conveyed to his wife Cornelia; who depoſited them in a family monument near his Alban villa. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

[7] This ſeems to allude to the fate of Pompey.

[8] He was a very conſiderable prince, whoſe dominions extended, not only over that part of Africa, which is now called the coaſt of Barbary, but ſouthward beyond mount Atlas; and from the Streights mouth along the Atlantic ocean to the Canary iſlands. Upon the firſt breaking out of the civil war, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſupporting the Pompeian party in Africa, againſt the army commanded by Curio:

A.U. 707. luntary exile, or to fall by one's own hand. Other choice moſt certainly there was none, if you would not, or durſt not, truſt to the clemency of the victor. Baniſhment, it muſt be owned, to a mind that had nothing to reproach itſelf with, would have been the moſt eligible of all theſe evils: eſpecially under the reflection of being driven from a commonwealth, which preſents nothing to our view but what we muſt behold with pain. Nevertheleſs, I choſe to remain with my

whom he entirely defeated. [See rem. 1. on let. 1. B. iii. Lucan has given a very poetical deſcription of the ſeveral tributary nations which upon this occaſion he led to battle:

Autololes, Numidæque vagi, ſemperque paratus
Inculto Gætulus equo, &c.

With him unnumber'd nations march along,
Th' Autololes with wild Numidians throng;
The rough Gætulian, with his ruder ſteed;
The Moor, reſembling India's ſwarthy breed;
Poor Naſamons, and Garamantines join'd,
With ſwift Marmaridans that match the wind;
The Marax bred the trembling dart to throw,
Sure as the ſhaft that leaves the Parthian bow;
With theſe Maſſylia's nimble horſemen ride;
They nor the bit, nor curbing rein provide,
But with light rods the well-taught courſer guide.
From lonely cots the Lybian hunters came,
Who ſtill unarm'd invade the ſalvage game,
And with ſpread mantles tawny lions tame. ROWE.

After the battle of Pharſalia, Scipio, who commanded the remains of Pompey's army that had aſſembled in Africa, applied to Juba for aſſiſtance: who accordingly joined him with a very conſiderable body of men. But their united forces were not ſufficient to withſtand the fortune of Cæſar: who having defeated their combined troops, Juba was too high-ſpirited to ſurvive the diſgrace, and at his own requeſt was ſtabbed by one of his attendants. *Lucan.* iv. 670. *Hirt. de Bell. Afric.* 94.

own;

own; if any thing now indeed can with propriety be called our *own*: a misfortune which, together with every other calamity that this fatal war has produced, I long ſince foretold. I returned therefore to Italy, not as to a ſituation perfectly deſirable, but in order, if the republic ſhould in any degree ſubſiſt, to enjoy ſomewhat that had at leaſt the ſemblance of our country; and if it were utterly deſtroyed, to live as if I were, to all eſſential purpoſes, in a real ſtate of exile. But tho' I ſaw no reaſon that could juſtly induce me to be my own executioner; I ſaw many to be deſirous of death. For it is an old and true maxim, that "life is not worth preſerving, when "a man is no longer what he once was." A blameleſs conſcience, however, is undoubtedly a great conſolation; eſpecially as I can add to it the double ſupport that ariſes to my mind, from a knowledge of the nobleſt ſciences, and from the glory of my former actions: one of which can never be torn from me ſo long as I live; and of the other, even death itſelf has not the power to deprive me. A.U. 707.

I have troubled you with this minute detail, from a full perſuaſion of the tender regard you bear both to myſelf and to our country. I was deſirous indeed to appriſe you fully of the principles by which I have ſteered, that you might be

A.U. 707. be ſenſible it was my firſt and principal aim, that no ſingle arm ſhould be more potent than the whole united commonwealth: and afterwards, when there was one, who by Pompey's miſtaken conduct, had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his power as to render all reſiſtance vain; that it was my next endeavour to preſerve the public tranquillity. I was deſirous you ſhould know, that after the loſs of thoſe troops and that general [9] wherein all our hopes were centered, I attempted to procure a total ceſſation of arms: and when this advice proved ineffectual, that I determined at leaſt to lay down my own. In a word, I was deſirous you ſhould know, that if our liberties ſtill remain, I alſo am ſtill a citizen of the republic: if not, that I am no leſs an exile, nor more conveniently ſituated, than if I had baniſhed myſelf to Rhodes or Mitylene [10].

[9] Pompey.

[10] Rhodes, the metropolis of an iſland in the Mediterranean, and Mitylene, the principal city of Leſbos, an iſland in the Ægean ſea, were places to which Marcellus and ſome others of the Pompeian party retired after the battle of Pharſalia. Theſe cities were eſteemed by the antients for the delightful temperature of their reſpective climates, and for many other delicacies with which they abounded; and accordingly Horace, in his ode to Plancus, mentions them in the number of thoſe which were moſt admired and celebrated by his countrymen:

Laudabunt alii claram Rhoden, aut Mitylenen, &c.

Both Vitruvius and Cicero likewiſe ſpeak of Mitylene in particular, with the higheſt encomiums on the elegance, beauty,

I ſhould

I ſhould have been glad to have ſaid this to you in perſon: but as I was not likely to meet with an opportunity for that purpoſe ſo ſoon as I wiſhed, I thought proper to take this earlier method of furniſhing you with an anſwer, if you ſhould fall in the way of thoſe who are diſpoſed to arraign my conduct. For notwithſtanding that my death could in no ſort have availed the republic, yet I ſtand condemned, it ſeems, by ſome, for not ſacrificing my life in its cauſe. But they are thoſe only, I am well aſſured, who have the cruelty to think, that there has not been blood enough ſpilt already. If my advice, however, had been followed, thoſe who have periſhed in this war, might have preſerved their lives with honour, tho' they had accepted of peace upon ever ſo unreaſonable conditions. For they would ſtill have had the better cauſe, tho' their enemies had the ſtronger ſwords. A.U. 707.

and magnificence of its buildings. It ſhould ſeem therefore that the text is corrupted in this place; and that inſtead of *non* incommodiore *loco*, the true reading is, non *commodiore*. Cicero indeed would make uſe of a very odd ſort of juſtification, if we ſuppoſe him to have ſaid that he had not choſen a more *inconvenient* place for his reſidence, than thoſe who retired to Rhodes or Mitylene: whereas it was much to his purpoſe to aſſert, that the exiles in thoſe cities were full as conveniently ſituated as himſelf. For the reſt, it will appear in the progreſs of theſe letters, that Cicero was far from living at Rome as in a ſtate of exile, during Cæſar's uſurpation. *Hor. Od.* i. 7. *Vitru.* i. *Cic. de Leg. Agra.* ii. 16.

A.U. 707. And now, perhaps, I have quite tired your patience: I ſhall think ſo at leaſt, if you do not ſend me a longer letter in return. I will only add, that if I can diſpatch ſome affairs which I am deſirous of finiſhing, I hope to be with you very ſhortly. Farewel.

LETTER II.

To Cneius Plancius[1].

I AM indebted to you for two letters, dated from Corcyra. You congratulate me in one of them on the account you have received, that

[1] Cneius Plancius was of an equeſtrian family. He was early initiated into public affairs by Aulus Torquatus; whom he attended when he was proconſul in Africa. He afterwards ſerved under Quintus Metellus in his expedition againſt Crete: and in the year of Cicero's baniſhment was quæſtor in Macedonia. This gave him an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing his friendſhip for our author, by the many good offices he exerted towards him as he paſſed thro' that province. Cicero very gratefully remembered them: as appears by his oration in defence of Plancius, when he was accuſed of illicit practices in obtaining the office of Ædile. He ſeems in the earlier part of his life to have indulged himſelf in the prevailing vices of the faſhionable world: but upon the whole of his character, to have been a man of ſtrict honour and integrity. Cicero particularly celebrates him for his filial piety, and that general eſteem in which he lived with all his relations. At the time when this letter was written, he was in Corcyra: a little iſland in the Ionian ſea now called Corfu. It is probable he retreated thither, with ſome others of the Pompeian party, after the total overthrow of their army in the plains of Pharſalia. *Orat. pro Planc.* 7, 11, 12.

I ſtill

I ſtill preſerve my former authority in the commonwealth: and wiſh me joy in the other, of my late marriage [2]. With reſpect to the firſt, if to mean well to the intereſt of my country and to approve that meaning to every friend of its liberties, may be conſidered as maintaining my authority; the account you have heard is certainly true. But if it conſiſts in rendering thoſe ſentiments effectual to the public welfare, or at leaſt in daring freely to ſupport and enforce them; alas! my friend, I have not the leaſt ſhadow of authority remaining. The fact is, it will be ſufficient honour if I can have ſo much authority over myſelf as to bear with patience our preſent and impending calamities: a frame of mind not to be acquired without difficulty, when it is conſidered that the preſent war [3] is ſuch that if one party is ſucceſsful, it will be attended with an infinite effuſion of blood; and if the other, with a total extinction of liberty. It affords me ſome conſolation however under theſe dangers to reflect, that I clearly foreſaw them when I declared how greatly I dreaded our victory as well as our defeat: I was perfectly A.U. 707.

[2] See below note 5.

[3] Between Cæſar, and the remains of the Pompeian party under the command of Scipio: who had aſſembled a very conſiderable army in Africa. Cæſar ſet out upon this expedition, towards the end of December in the preceding year; about three or four months after his return from the Alexandrine war.

aware

A.U. 707. aware of the hazard to which our liberties would be expoſed, by referring our public diſputes to the deciſion of the ſword. I knew, indeed, if that party ſhould prevail which I joined, not from a paſſion for war, but merely with the hopes of facilitating an accommodation, what cruelties were to be expected from their pride, their avarice, and their revenge. On the contrary, ſhould they be vanquiſhed, I was ſenſible what numbers of the beſt and moſt illuſtrious of our fellow-citizens would inevitably periſh. And yet, when I forewarned theſe men of our danger, and juſtly adviſed them to avoid it, inſtead of receiving my admonitions as the effect of a prudential caution, they choſe to treat it as the dictates of an unreaſonable timidity.

But to turn to your other letter: I am obliged to you for your good wiſhes in regard to my marriage [5]; as I am well perſuaded that they are

[5] Cicero had very lately divorced his wife Terentia, on accaſion of ſome great offence ſhe had given him in her oeconomical conduct. The perſon to whom he was now married, was called Publia, a young lady, to whom he had been guardian, and of an age extremely diſproportionate to his own. His principal inducement to this match, ſeems to have been her fortune: which, it is ſaid, was very conſiderable. However, he did not long enjoy the benefit of it: for finding himſelf uneaſy likewiſe under this ſecond marriage, he ſoon parted with his young wife, and conſequently with her portion. This very unequal match, expoſed Cicero to much cenſure: and Calenus warmly reproaches him with it, in that bitter invective which he delivered, as Dio at leaſt

perfectly

perfectly ſincere. I ſhould have had no thoughts A.U. 707.
in theſe miſerable times, of entering into any new engagement of this ſort, if I had not upon my return into Italy, found my domeſtic affairs in no better a ſituation than thoſe of the republic. When I diſcovered, that through the wicked practices of thoſe whom I had infinitely obliged, and to whom my welfare ought to have been infinitely dear, that there was no ſecurity for me within my own walls, and that I was ſurrounded with treachery on all ſides; I thought it neceſſary to protect myſelf againſt the perfidiouſneſs of my old connections, by having recourſe to a more faithful alliance.—But enough of my private concerns: and perhaps too much. As to thoſe which relate to yourſelf; I hope you have the opinion of them which you juſtly ought, and are free from all particular uneaſineſs on your own account. For I am well perſuaded that whatever may be the event of public affairs, you will be perfectly ſecure: as one of the contending parties, I perceive, is already reconciled to you; and the other you have never offended. With reſpect to my own diſpoſition towards you: tho' I well know the narrow extent of my power, and how little my ſervices can now avail, yet

pretends, in reply to one of Cicero's againſt Mark Antony. *Ad Att.* xiii. 34. *Dio.* lx. p. 303.

A.U. 747. you may be assured of my most zealous endeavours at least, upon every occasion wherein either your character or your interest is concerned. In the mean time, let me know as soon as possible how it fares with you, and what measures you purpose to pursue. Farewel.

LETTER III.

To TORANIUS [1].

ALtho' I imagine this miserable war is either already terminated by some decisive engagement [2], or at least is approaching to its conclusion; yet [3] * * * * * * * * *. I frequently

[1] Suetonius mentions a person of this name, who was elected into the office of Ædile with Octavius, the father of Augustus, and who afterwards, notwithstanding he had been guardian to Augustus himself, was in the number of those who perished by the sanguinary proscriptions of that emperor. One of the commentators upon that historian, supposes him to be the same person to whom this letter is addressed: and indeed the conjecture is extremely probable. However all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning Toranius is, that he took part in the civil war on the side of Pompey, and that after the battle of Pharsalia he retired to Corcyra, as he appears to have been in that island when this letter was written. *Suet. in vit. August.* 27. See the rem. of Mr. Ross, on the *Epist. Famil.* vol. i. p. 498.

[2] See rem. 3. on the foregoing letter, p. 207.

[3] The first period of this letter in the original, runs thus: Etsi *cum hæc ad te scribebam, aut appropinquare exitus hujus calamitosissimi belli, aut jam aliquid actum & confectum videbatur; tamen quotidie commemorabam, te unum in tanto exercitu mihi*

reflect, that there was not a man throughout all A.U. 707.
the numerous army of Pompey who agreed with you and me in our opinion. We were the only perſons indeed, who were ſenſible, if there ſhould be no hope of an accommodation, how pregnant with miſchief that war muſt prove, in which torrents of blood would be the conſequence, if we were vanquiſhed; and ſlavery, if we proved victorious [4]. I was repreſented at that time, by ſuch wiſe and heroic ſpirits as your Domitii and your Lentuli, as a man altogether under the dominion of fear: and fear, I will confeſs, I did, that thoſe calamities would happen, which have ſince enſued. But I am now totally void of all farther apprehenſions; and I ſtand prepared to meet with indifference whatever it be that fortune may have in reſerve. While prudence, indeed, could any thing avail; I lamented to ſee her dictates neglected. But now that counſel can profit nothing, and that the republic is utterly overturn-

fuiſſe aſſentorem, & me tibi. The *etſi* and the *tamen* in this ſentence, ſeem to be as abſolutely incoherent as if Cicero had ſaid, that "*altho'* Æneas ſettled in Italy, *yet* Cæſar "was a conſummate general." It ſhould ſeem therefore, that there is ſome error in the text. Perhaps the proper connecting words that followed *tamen*, have been dropped by the tranſcribers; and that *Quotidie* was the beginning of a new ſentence. The tranſlator has ventured at leaſt to proceed upon this conjecture: and the place of the ſuppoſed omiſſion is marked by aſteriſks.

[4] This is explained by what he ſays of Pompey in a ſubſequent letter, p. 344. of this vol.

A.U. 707. ed; the only rational part that remains, is to bear with calmneſs whatever ſhall be the event: eſpecially when it is conſidered, that death is the final period of all human concerns. In the mean time, I have the ſatisfaction to be conſcious, that I conſulted the dignity of the republic, whilſt it was poſſible to be preſerved; and when it could no longer be maintained, that my next endeavour was, to ſave the commonwealth from being utterly deſtroyed. I mention this, not to indulge a vanity in talking of myſelf, but that you, who were intirely united with me in the ſame ſentiments and diſpoſition, may be led into the ſame train of reflections. For it muſt undoubtedly afford you great conſolation to remember, that whatever turn affairs might have taken, your counſels were perfectly right. May we yet live to ſee the republic, in ſome degree at leaſt, again reſtored! and may we have the ſatisfaction of one day comparing together the anxiety we mutually ſuffered, when we were looked upon as men that wanted ſpirit, merely becauſe we declared that thoſe conſequences would happen which have accordingly taken place! Mean while, I will venture to aſſure you, that you have nothing to apprehend upon your own account, excluſive of the general ſubverſion of the commonwealth. As for myſelf,

myſelf, be perſuaded, that I ſhall at all times, as far as lies in my power, be ready to exert my utmoſt ſervices towards you and your family. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER IV.

To [6] Marcus Terentius Varro.

ATTICUS lately read a letter to me that he had received from you, by which I was informed where you are, and in what manner employed: but it mentioned no circumſtance

[6] Marcus Terentius Varro had been lieutenant to Pompey in the piratic war; in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſo much advantage, as to be honoured with a naval crown: an honour uſually conferred on thoſe who had ſignalized their valour in a ſea engagement. He was afterwards appointed, in conjunction with Afranius and Petreius, lieutenant to Pompey in Spain: and he was ſerving in that quality, when the civil war broke out. He was at that time at the head of two legions in the farther Spain: but his colleagues having been defeated by Cæſar, he found himſelf in no condition to reſiſt; and accordingly ſurrendered himſelf and his army into the hands of the conqueror. He ſeems from that time to have withdrawn from public affairs, and to have conſecrated the remainder of his life (which he is ſaid to have preſerved, with all his ſenſes entire, to the age of an hundred) wholly to philoſophical ſtudies. His genius and talents indeed were principally of the literary kind; in which he was univerſally acknowledged to hold the firſt rank among his contemporaries. He publiſhed many treatiſes in all the various branches of human ſcience: one or two of the leaſt conſiderable of which, and thoſe not entire, are the whole that now remain of his numberleſs compoſitions. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* 17. &c. *Val. Max.* viii. 7. *Cic. Acadm.* i. 3.

A.U. 707. that could lead me to gueſs, when we might expect to ſee you. I hope, however, that the time of your coming hither is approaching, and that your company will afford me conſolation under our general misfortunes: tho' indeed they are ſo numerous and ſo ſevere, that it is a folly to expect any thing will be ſufficient for that purpoſe. Nevertheleſs there are ſome inſtances, perhaps, in which we may prove of mutual aſſiſtance to each other. For ſince my return to Rome, you muſt know, I am reconciled to thoſe old companions of mine, my books. Not that I was eſtranged from them, out of any diſguſt; but that I could not look upon them without ſome ſort of ſhame. It ſeemed indeed, that I had ill obſerved their precepts, when I joined with perfidious aſſociates in taking part in our public commotions. They are willing however to pardon my error, and invite me to renew my former acquaintance with them; applauding at the ſame time your ſuperior wiſdom, in never having forſaken their ſociety [7]. Thus reſtored therefore as I am to their good graces, may I not hope, if I can unite your company with theirs, to ſupport myſelf under the preſſure of

[7] Varro's books were his companions, it ſeems, in the camp as well as in the cloſet, and he was never wholly ſeparated from them, it appears, even amidſt the moſt active engagements of public life.

our

our preſent and impending calamities? Where- A.U. 707.
ever then you ſhall chooſe I ſhould join you, be it at Tuſculum, at Cumæ [8], or at Rome, I ſhall moſt readily obey your ſummons. The place I laſt named would indeed be the leaſt acceptable to me. But it is of no great conſequence where we meet: for if we can but be together, I will undertake to render the place of meeting equally agreeable to both of us. Farewel.

LETTER V.

To TORIANUS.

AS I wrote to you three days ago by ſome domeſtics of Plancius, I ſhall be ſo much the ſhorter at preſent: and as my former [9] was a letter of conſolation; this ſhall be one of advice.

I think nothing can be more for your advantage than to remain in your preſent ſituation, till you ſhall be able to learn in what manner you are to act. For not to mention that you will by this mean avoid the danger of a long winter-voyage, in a ſea that affords but few harbours; there is this very material conſideration, that you may ſoon croſs over into Italy, whenever you ſhall re-

[8] Varro had a villa near each of theſe places.
[9] Probably the third letter of this Book.

A.U. 707. ceive any certain intelligence. Nor do I ſee any reaſon for your being deſirous of preſenting your ſelf to Cæſar's friends in their return. In ſhort, I have many other objections to your ſcheme: for the particulars of which I refer you to our friend Chilo. You cannot indeed, in theſe unfortunate times, be more conveniently placed, than where you now are: as you may with great facility and expedition tranſport yourſelf from thence, to whatever other part of the world you ſhall find it neceſſary to remove. If Cæſar ſhould return at the time he is expected [1], you may be in Italy ſoon enough to wait upon him: but ſhould any thing happen (as many things poſſibly may) to prevent or retard his march, you are in a place where you may receive an early information of all that occurs. To repeat it therefore once more, I am altogether of opinion that you ſhould continue in your preſent quarters. I will only add, (what I have often exhorted you in my former letters to be well perſuaded of) that you have nothing to fear beyond the general danger to which every citizen of Rome is equally expoſed. And tho' this, it muſt be owned, is ſufficiently great; yet we can both of us look back with ſo much ſatisfaction upon our paſt con-

[1] From Africa. See rem. 3. p. 207. of this vol.

duct,

duct, and are arrived at ſuch a period of life*, A.U. 707.
that we ought to bear with particular fortitude, whatever unmerited fate may attend us.

Your family here are all well, and extremely regret your abſence: as they love and honour you with the higheſt tenderneſs and eſteem.—Take care of your health: and by no means remove without duly weighing the conſequences. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

To Domitius†.

IF you have not heard from me ſince your arrival in Italy, it is not that I was diſcouraged

* Cicero was at this time about 62 years of age.

† The perſon to whom this letter is addreſſed, is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of Domitius Ænobarbus, who commanded the garriſon of Corfinium at the breaking out of the civil war. [See vol. ii. p. 115. rem. 6.] The father was killed in his flight from the battle of Pharſalia: *Cæſ. Bell. Civ.* iii. 99.] after which his ſon, as it ſhould ſeem by this letter, returned into Italy. He is mentioned in the liſt of thoſe who were concerned in aſſaſſinating Cæſar. "But he "managed his affairs (as Mr. *Roſe* obſerves) with ſo much "addreſs, that after the death of Brutus and Caſſius, he "firſt made his peace with Antony, and then upon the de-"cline of his power, took an occaſion to leave him and "join himſelf with Auguſtus. And tho' he did not live "long enough to enjoy the benefit of that union; yet he "left a ſon, who recovered the ancient ſplendor of the fa-"mily, and laid a foundation for the empire, which took "place in the perſon of his grand-ſon Nero." *Sueton. in Nero, &c. Patere.* ii. 72.

from

A.U. 707. from writing on my part, by the profound ſilence you have obſerved on yours. The ſingle reaſon was, that I could find nothing to ſay. For on the one hand, I was in every reſpect too much diſtreſſed, as well as too much at a loſs how to act myſelf, to offer you either aſſiſtance or advice: and on the other, I knew not what conſolation to ſuggeſt to you, under theſe our ſevere and general misfortunes. However, notwithſtanding public affairs are ſo far from being in a better ſituation at preſent, that they are growing every day more and more deſperate; yet I could not ſatisfy myſelf with being ſilent any longer: and rather choſe to ſend you an empty letter, than not to ſend you any.

If you were in the number of thoſe who tenaciouſly perſevered in the defence of the republic, beyond all poſſibility of ſucceſs; I ſhould employ every argument in my power, to reconcile you to thoſe conditions, tho' not the moſt eligible indeed, which are offered to our acceptance. But as you judiciouſly terminated the noble ſtruggle you made in ſupport of our liberties, by thoſe limits which fortune herſelf marked out to our oppoſition; let me conjure you by our long and mutual amity, to preſerve yourſelf [a] for the

[a] It looks by this paſſage as if Domitius had been ſuſpected at this time of an intention to deſtroy himſelf.

ſake

ſake of your friends, your mother, your wife, A.U. 707.
and your children: for the ſake of thoſe, in ſhort, to whom you have ever been infinitely dear, and whoſe welfare and intereſt depends entirely upon yours. Let me intreat you to call to your aid in this gloomy ſeaſon, thoſe glorious precepts of philoſophy, in which you have been converſant from your earlieſt youth: and to ſupport the loſs of thoſe with whom you were united by the moſt tender ties of affection and gratitude [3], if not with a mind perfectly ſerene, at leaſt with a rational and manly fortitude.

How far my preſent power may reach, I know not; or rather, indeed, I am ſenſible that it cannot extend far. This however I will aſſure you, (and it is a promiſe which I have likewiſe made to that excellent woman your affectionate mother) that in whatever inſtance I imagine my ſervices can avail either to your honour or your welfare, I ſhall exert them with the ſame zeal which you have always ſhewn in regard to myſelf. If there is any thing therefore in which you ſhall be deſirous to employ them, I beg you will let me know: and I will moſt punctually perform your commands. Indeed without any ſuch expreſs requeſt, you may depend upon my beſt offices on every

[3] The father and friends of Domitius, who had periſhed in the civil war.

oc-

A.U. 707. occaſion, wherein I ſhall be capable of promoting your intereſt. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS [4].

I Have received your very ſhort letter, which informs me of what I never once queſtioned, but leaves me entirely ignorant in a point I was extremely deſirous of knowing. I had not the leaſt doubt indeed of the ſhare I enjoy in your friendſhip; but wanted much to hear with what reſolution you ſubmit to our common calamities: a circumſtance, of which if I had been appriſed, I ſhould have adapted my letter accordingly. However, tho' I mentioned in my laſt what I thought neceſſary to ſay upon that ſubject, yet it may be proper at this juncture juſt to caution you again, not to imagine, that you have any thing particular to fear. 'Tis true, we are every one of us in great danger: but the danger however is general and equal [5]. You ought not therefore to complain of your own fortune, or think it hard to take your part in calamities that extend to all. Let us then, my friend, preſerve

[4] See note 1. p. 206. of this vol.

[5] See the 2d let. of this B.

the

the ſame mutual diſpoſition of mind which has ever ſubſiſted between us. I am ſure I ſhall on my part; and I have reaſon to hope that you will do ſo likewiſe on yours. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER VIII.

To Lucius Plancus [a].

YOU are ſenſible, I dare ſay, that amongſt all thoſe friends whom you claim as a ſort of paternal inheritance, there is not one ſo cloſely attached to you as myſelf. I do not mean in conſideration only of thoſe more conſpicuous connections of a public kind in which I was engaged with your father; but in regard likewiſe to that leſs obſervable intercourſe of private friendſhip, which I had the happineſs, you well know, of enjoying with him in the higheſt degree. As this was the ſource from whence my affection for the

[a] He was brother to Plancus Burſa, the great enemy of Cicero, and of whom an account has been given in rem. 5. vol. i. p. 263. Plancus does not ſeem to have figured in the commonwealth; at leaſt hiſtory does not take much notice of him, till after the death of Cæſar: at which time he was at the head of a conſiderable army in the farther Gaul, as governor of that province. But as there are ſeveral letters in this collection which paſſed between him and Cicero at that period; the particulars of his character will be beſt remarked in the obſervations that will ariſe upon his conduct in that important criſis. In the mean time it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that when this letter was written, he was probably an officer under Cæſar in the African war. See rem. 2. on let. 20. B. xii.

A.U. 707. ſon originally took its riſe; ſo that affection, in its turn, improved and ſtrengthened my union with the father: eſpecially when I obſerved you diſtinguiſhing me with peculiar marks of reſpect and eſteem, as early as you were capable of forming any judgment of mankind. To this I muſt add, (what is of itſelf indeed a very powerful cement) the ſimilitude of our taſtes and ſtudies: and of thoſe particular ſtudies too, which are of a nature moſt apt to create an intimacy between men of the ſame general caſt of temper [7]. And now, are you not impatient to learn the purpoſe of this long introduction? Be aſſured then, it is not without juſt and ſtrong reaſon, that I have thus enumerated the ſeveral motives which concur in forming our amity: as it is in order to plead before you with more advantage, the cauſe of my very intimate friend Ateius Capito [8]. I need not point out to you the variety of fortune with which my life has been checquered: but in all the honours and diſgraces I have experienced, Capito has ever moſt zealouſly aſſiſted me with his power, his intereſt, and even with his purſe.

[7] The ſtudies to which Cicero here alludes, are, probably, thoſe of the philoſophical kind.

[8] Pighius ſuppoſes, that this is the ſame Ateius Capito, who devoted Craſſus to deſtruction when he ſet out upon his Parthian expedition: of which the reader has already met with an account in rem. 7. p. 128. vol. i. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 389.

Titus

Titus Antiſtius, who was his near relation, happened to be quæſtor in Macedonia (no perſon having been appointed to ſucceed him) when Pompey marched his army into that province [9]. Had it been poſſible for Antiſtius to have retired; it would have been his firſt and moſt earneſt endeavour to have returned to Capito, whom he loved with all the tenderneſs of a filial affection: and indeed he was ſo much the more deſirous of joining him, as he knew the high eſteem which Capito had ever entertained for Cæſar. But finding himſelf thus unexpectedly in the hands of Pompey, it was not in his power wholly to decline the functions of his office: however, he acted no farther than he was abſolutely conſtrained. I cannot deny, that he was concerned in coining the ſilver at Apollonia [1]. But he was by no means a principal in that affair: and two or three months were the utmoſt that he engaged in it. From that time he withdrew from Pompey's camp, and totally avoided all public employment. I hope you will credit this aſſertion, when I aſſure you that I know it to be fact: for indeed Antiſtius ſaw how much I was A.U. 707.

[9] When Pompey retreated before Cæſar and abandoned Italy.

[1] For the payment of Pompey's army. Apollonia was a city in Thrace: a part of Greece annexed to the province of Macedonia.

diſ-

Ætat. 50. diſſatisfied with the war, and conſulted with me upon all his meaſures. Accordingly, that he might have no part in it, he withdrew as far as poſſible from Pompey's camp, and concealed himſelf in the interior parts of Macedonia. After the battle of Pharſalia he retired to his friend Aulus Plautius [2], in Bithynia. It was here that he had an interview with Cæſar [3]: who received him without the leaſt mark of diſpleaſure, and ordered him to return to Rome. But he ſoon afterwards contracted an illneſs, which he carried with him into Corcyra: where it put an end to his life. By his will, which was made at Rome in the conſulate of Paullus and Marcellus, he has left ten twelfths of his eſtate to Capito. The remaining two parts, amounting to 300,000 ſeſterces [4], he has deviſed to thoſe for whoſe intereſt no mortal can be concerned: and therefore I am not in the leaſt ſollicitous whether Cæſar ſhall think proper, or not, to ſeiſe it as forfeited to the public. But I moſt earneſtly conjure you, my dear Plancus, to conſider the cauſe of Capito as my own, and to employ your influence with Cæſar, that my friend may be permitted to inherit this legacy,

[2] At that time governor of Bithynia, an Aſiatic province, ſituated on the Euxine ſea.

[3] Probably in his return from the Alexandrine war.

[4] About 2400 l. of our money.

agreeably

agreeably to the will of his relation. I intreat A.U. 707.
you by all the various ties of our friendſhip, as well as by thoſe likewiſe which ſubſiſted between your father and myſelf, to exert your moſt zealous and active offices for this purpoſe. Be aſſured, if you were to grant me all that lies within the compaſs of your extenſive credit and power, you could not more effectually oblige me than by complying with my preſent requeſt. I hope it may be a means of facilitating your ſucceſs upon this occaſion, that Capito, as Cæſar himſelf can witneſs, has ever held him in the higheſt eſteem and affection. But Cæſar, I know, never forgets any thing: I forbear therefore to furniſh you with particular inſtances of Capito's attachment to him, and only deſire you to make a proper uſe of thoſe which are freſh in Cæſar's memory. It may not however be unneceſſary to point out one proof of this ſort, which I myſelf experienced: and I will leave it to your own judgment to determine how far the mentioning of it may avail. I need not tell you by what party my intereſt had been ſupported, nor whoſe cauſe I eſpouſed in our public diviſions. But believe me, whatever meaſures I purſued in this war, which were unacceptable to Cæſar, (and I have the ſatisfaction to find that he is ſenſible of it himſelf) were moſt contrary to my own inclinations, and merely in compliance with the perſua-

A.U. 707. ſions and authority of others. But if I conducted myſelf with more moderation than any of thoſe who were joined with me in the ſame cauſe; it is principally owing to the advice and admonitions of Capito. To ſay truth, if the reſt of my friends had been influenced by the ſame ſpirit with which he was actuated, I might have taken a part that would have proved of ſome advantage, perhaps, to my country; I am ſure, at leaſt, of much to myſelf[5]. In one word, my dear Plancus, your gratifying my preſent requeſt, will confirm me in the hope that I poſſeſs a place in your affection: and at the ſame time extremely contribute to your own advantage, in adding, by a very important obligation, the moſt grate-

[5] The part which Cicero here accuſes his friends (and ſurely with ſome want of generoſity) that they would not ſuffer him to act, ſeems to have been that of ſtanding neuter in the war between Pompey and Cæſar. And it muſt be owned that this conduct would have been far leſs exceptionable, if inſtead of feintly joining with one ſide, he had determined to engage with neither. This too, as the event proved, might have been moſt prudential in point of intereſt: for a neutrality was all that Cæſar deſired of him. But that it could in any ſort have advantaged his country, appears to be a notion altogether improbable, and advanced only to give a colour to his not having entered with more ſpirit into the cauſe of the republic. Cicero often intimates indeed that by preſerving a neutrality, he might have been more likely to have facilitated an accommodation between Pompey and Cæſar. But it is utterly incredible from the temper and character of theſe contending chiefs, that either of them entertained the leaſt diſpoſition for this purpoſe: as it is certain from Cicero's own confeſſion in his letters to Atticus, that he was well perſuaded Pompey would never liſten to any pacific overtures. *Vid. Ad At.* vii. 8. viii. 15.

ful

ful and worthy Capito to the number of your friends. Farewel: A.U. 707.

LETTER IX.

To Allienus, Proconſul [6].

DEmocritus of Sicyon is not only my hoſt [7], but (what I can ſay of few of his countrymen beſide) he is likewiſe my very intimate friend. He is a perſon indeed of the higheſt probity and merit, and diſtinguiſhed for his moſt generous and polite hoſpitality towards thoſe who come under his roof: in which number I have received particular marks of his affection and eſteem. In one word, you will find him a man of the firſt and moſt valuable character amongſt his fellow-citizens, I had almoſt ſaid in all Achaia. I only mean therefore by this letter, to introduce him to your acquaintance: for I know your ſentiments and diſpoſition ſo well, that I am perſuaded nothing more is neceſſary to make you think him worthy of being received both as your gueſt and friend. Let me intreat

[6] He was at this time proconſul, or governor of Sicily, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his care and diligence in tranſporting the troops which Cæſar received from thence in order to carry on the preſent war in Africa. There is a ſilver coin ſtill extant, on which is inſcribed, A. ALLIENVS. PRO. COS. and on the reverſe, C. CÆSAR. IMP. COS. ITER. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 453.

[7] See p. 113. of this vol. rem. 3.

A.U. 707. you in the mean time to favour him with your patronage, and to aſſure him that for my ſake he may depend upon all the aſſiſtance in your power. If after this you ſhould diſcover (as I truſt you will) that his virtues render him deſerving of a nearer intercourſe; you cannot more ſenſibly oblige me than by admitting him into your family and friendſhip. Farewel.

LETTER X.

To Lucius Mescinius [1].

YOUR letter afforded me great pleaſure, as it gave me an aſſurance (tho' indeed I wanted none) that you earneſtly wiſh for my company. Believe me, I am equally deſirous of yours: and in truth, when there was a much greater abundance of patriot citizens and agreeable companions who were in the number of my friends; there was no man with whom I rather choſe to aſſociate, and few whoſe company I liked ſo well. But now that death, abſence, or change of diſpoſition has ſo greatly contracted this ſocial circle; I ſhould prefer a ſingle day with you, to a whole life with the generality of thoſe with whom I am at preſent obliged to live [2].

[1] See rem. 1. p. 91. of this vol.

[2] The chiefs of the Cæſarean party: with whom Cicero now found it convenient to cultivate a friendſhip, in order to ingratiate himſelf with Cæſar.

Solitude

Solitude itſelf indeed (if ſolitude, alas! I were at liberty to enjoy) would be far more eligible, than the converſation of thoſe who frequent my houſe: one or two of them at moſt excepted. I ſeek my relief therefore (where I would adviſe you to look for yours) in amuſements of a literary kind, and in the conſciouſneſs of having always intended well to my country. I have the ſatisfaction to reflect, (as I dare ſay you will readily believe) that I never ſacrificed the public good to my own private views; that if a certain perſon (whom for my ſake, I am ſure, you never loved) had not looked upon me with a jealous eye [3], both himſelf and every friend to liberty had been happy; that I always endeavoured that it ſhould not be in the power of any man to diſturb the public tranquillity; and in a word, that when I perceived thoſe arms which I had ever A.U. 707.

[3] Pompey; who being jealous of the popularity which Cicero had acquired during his conſulſhip, ſtruck in with the deſigns of Cæſar, and others who had formed a party againſt our author. It was by theſe means that Pompey laid the principal foundation of Cæſar's power, which without the aſſiſtance of the former, could never have prevailed to the deſtruction both of himſelf and of the republic [ſee rem. 4. p. 3. vol. i.] The cenſure which Cicero here caſts upon Pompey's conduct towards him, is undoubtedly juſt: but it is a proof at the ſame time, how unworthily he flattered that great man in the plenitude of his power, when he profeſſed to have received obligations from him, that gave him the moſt unqueſtionable right to his higheſt gratitude. See rem. [a] p. 12. of this vol.

A.U. 707. dreaded, would prove an over-match for that patriot-coalition I had myſelf formed [a] in the republic, I thought it better to accept of a ſafe peace upon any terms, than impotently to contend with a ſuperior force. But I hope ſhortly to talk over theſe and many other points with you, in perſon. Nothing indeed detains me in Rome, but to wait the event of the war in Africa: which, I imagine, muſt now be ſoon decided. And tho' it ſeems of little importance on which ſide the victory ſhall turn; yet I think it may be of ſome advantage to be near my friends when the news ſhall arrive, in order to conſult with them on the meaſures it may be adviſeable for me to purſue [b]. Affairs are now reduced to

[a] Cicero probably alludes to the coalition he formed during his conſulſhip, of the equeſtrian order with that of the ſenate: which indeed was one of the moſt ſhining parts of his adminiſtration. "This order (as Dr. Middleton obſerves) "conſiſted, next to the ſenators, of the richeſt and moſt "ſplendid families in Rome: who from the eaſe and af-"fluence of their fortunes were naturally well affected to the "proſperity of the republic; and being alſo the con-"ſtant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a "great part of the inferior people dependent upon them. "Cicero imagined, that the united weight of theſe two "orders would always be an over-balance to any other "power in the ſtate, and a ſecure barrier againſt any at-"tempts of the popular and ambitious upon the common "liberty." *Life of Cic.* i. 159. 8vo. edit.

[b] Cicero would have had great occaſion for the advice of his friends, if the remains of Pompey's army had defeated Cæſar's in Africa. For he had reaſon to expect, and would probably have experienced, the ſevereſt effects of their re-

ſuch an unhappy ſituation, that tho' there is a conſiderable difference, 'tis true, between the cauſe of the contending parties, I believe there will be very little as to the conſequence of their ſucceſs. However, tho' my ſpirits were too much dejected, perhaps, whilſt our affairs remained in ſuſpence; I find myſelf much more compoſed now that they are utterly deſperate. Your laſt letter has contributed to confirm me in this diſpoſition; as it is an inſtance of the magnanimity with which you ſupport your unjuſt diſgrace [5]. It is with particular ſatisfaction I obſerve, that you owe this heroic calmneſs, not only to philoſophy, but to temper. For I will confeſs, that I imagined your mind was ſoftened with that too delicate ſenſibility which we who paſſed our lives in the eaſe and freedom of Rome, were apt in general to contract. But as we bore our proſperous days with moderation; it becomes us to bear our adverſe fortune, or more properly indeed our irretrievable ruin, with fortitude. This advantage we may at leaſt derive from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon death with contempt: which even if we were happy we ought to deſpiſe, as a ſtate of A.U. 707.

ſentment, if they had returned victorious into Italy. *Vid. Epiſt. Famil.* ix. 6.

[5] Meſcinius, it is probable, was baniſhed by Cæſar, as a partiſan of Pompey, to a certain diſtance from Rome.

A.U. 707. total inſenſibility [6]; but which under our preſent afflictions ſhould be the object of our conſtant

[6] Cicero expreſſes himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, in two or three other of theſe letters. Thus in one to Torquatus; *ſi non ero, ſenſu omnino carebo:* and in another to Toranius; *Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit ferre moderate; præſertim cum omnium rerum mors ſit extremum.* From whence it has been inferred, that Cicero in his private opinion rejected the doctrine of the ſoul's immortality. In anſwer to which it may be obſerved, in the firſt place, that theſe paſſages, without any violence of conſtruction, may be interpreted as affirming nothing more, than that death is an utter extinction of all ſenſibility with reſpect to human concerns: as it was a doubt with ſome of the ancients, whether departed ſpirits did not ſtill retain a knowledge of what paſſed in this world. In the next place, admitting theſe ſeveral paſſages to be ſo many clear and poſitive aſſertions, that the ſoul periſhes with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this was Cicero's real belief. It is uſual with him to vary his ſentiments in theſe letters, in accommodation to the principles or circumſtances of his correſpondents. Thus in a letter to Dolabella, he does not ſcruple to ſay, *ſum avidior quam ſatis eſt gloriæ:* But in writing to Cato, he repreſents himſelf of a diſpoſition entirely the reverſe: *ipſam quidem gloriam per ſe nunquam putavi expetendam.* In a letter to Torquatus, when he is endeavouring to reconcile him to his *baniſhment* from Rome, he lays it down as a maxim, that *in malis omnibus acerbius eſt videre quam audire:* but in another letter to Marcellus, written in order to perſuade him to *return* to Rome, he reaſons upon a principle directly oppoſite, and tells him, *non eſt tuum uno ſenſu* oculorum *moveri: cum idem illud* auribus *percipias, quod etiam* majus *videri ſolet,* &c. Other inſtances of the ſame variation from himſelf might be produced: but theſe, together with thoſe that have already been occaſionally pointed out in the courſe of theſe remarks, are ſufficient, perhaps, to evince, that Cicero's real ſentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular paſſages in theſe letters. In thoſe to Atticus indeed, he was generally, tho' not always, more ſincere: and Mr. Roſs has cited a paſſage from one of them, in which Cicero very expreſsly mentions his expectations of a future ſtate: *tempus eſt nos de* illa perpetua *jam,* ſays he, *non de hac exigua vita cogitare.* But Cicero's ſpeculative notions are beſt determined, by looking into his philoſophical writings: and theſe abound with various and

wiſhes.

wiſhes. Let not any fears then, I conjure you A.U. 707.
by your affection for me, diſturb the peace of your retirement: and be well perſuaded, nothing can befall a man that deſerves to raiſe his dread and horror, but (what I am ſure ever was, and ever will be far from you) the reproaches of a guilty heart.

I purpoſe to pay you a viſit very ſoon, if nothing ſhould happen to make it neceſſary for me to change my reſolution: and if there ſhould, I will immediately let you know. But I hope you will not, whilſt you are in ſo weak a condition, be tempted by your impatience of ſeeing me, to remove from your preſent ſituation: at leaſt not without previouſly conſulting me. In the mean time, continue to love me; and take care both of your health and your repoſe. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

To ALLIENUS, Proconſul.

AS you are no ſtranger, I imagine, to the eſteem I entertained for Avianus Flaccus; ſo I have often heard him acknowledge the generous manner in which you formerly

full proofs, that he was ſtrongly perſuaded of the ſoul's immortality. *Epiſt. Famil.* ix. 14. xv. 4. vi. 4. iv. 9. *Ad At.* x. 8. ſee alſo *Life of Cic.* iii. 341. 8vo. edit.

treated

A.U. 707. treated him: as indeed no man ever poſſeſſed a more grateful or better heart. His two ſons, Caius and Marcus, inherit all the virtues of their father: and I moſt warmly recommend them to your protection, as young men for whom I have a very ſingular affection. Caius is now in Sicily: and Marcus is at preſent with me. I intreat you to ſhew every mark of honour to the former, and to take the affairs of both under your patronage; aſſuring yourſelf, that you cannot render me in your government a more acceptable ſervice. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

To VARRO.

THO' I have nothing to write, yet I could not ſuffer Caninius to pay you a viſit, without taking the opportunity of conveying a letter by his hands. And now I know not what elſe to ſay, but that I propoſe to be with you very ſoon: an information however, which I am perſuaded you will be glad to receive. But will it be altogether decent to appear in ſo gay a ſcene [7], at a time when Rome is in

[7] Varro ſeems to have requeſted Cicero to give him a meeting at Baiæ, a place much frequented by the Romans on account of its hot baths: as the agreeableneſs of its ſituation on the bay of Naples, rendered it at the ſame time the gene-

ſuch

ſuch a general flame? And ſhall we not furniſh an occaſion of cenſure to thoſe, who do not know that we obſerve the ſame ſober philoſophical life, in all ſeaſons, and in every place? Yet after all, what imports it? ſince the world will talk of us, in ſpite of our utmoſt caution. And indeed whilſt our cenſurers are immerſed in every kind of flagitious debauchery; it is much worth our concern, truly, what they ſay of our innocent relaxations. In juſt contempt therefore of theſe illiterate barbarians, it is my reſolution to join you very ſpeedily. I know not how it is indeed, but it ſhould ſeem that our favourite ſtudies are attended with much greater advantages, in theſe wretched times, than formerly: whether it be that they are now our only reſource; or that we were leſs ſenſible of their ſalutary effects, when we were in too happy a ſtate to have occaſion to experience them. — But this is ſending owls to A.U. 703

ſal reſort of the pleaſurable world. The tender Propertius has addreſſed ſome pretty lines to his Cynthia at this place, which ſufficiently intimate in what manner the Roman ladies were amuſed in that dangerous ſcene of gallantry and diſſipation.

Tu modo quam primum corruptas deſere Baias,
Multis iſta dabunt littora diſſidium:
Littora quæ fuerant caſtis inimica puellis, &c.

Fly, fly, my love, ſoft Baiæ's tainted coaſt,
Where many a pair connubial peace have loſt:
Where many a maid ſhall guilty joys deplore:
Ah fly, my fair, deteſted Baiæ's ſhore!

Athens,

A.U. 707. Athens [8], as we ſay; and ſuggeſting reflections which your own mind will far better ſupply. All that I mean by them however, is, to draw a letter from you in return, at the ſame time that I give you notice to expect me ſoon. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

To the Same.

OUR friend Caninius paid me a viſit ſome time ago very late in the evening, and informed me that he purpoſed to ſet out for your houſe the next morning. I told him I would give him two or three lines to deliver to you, and deſired he would call for them in the morning. Accordingly I wrote to you that night [9]: but as he did not return, I imagined he had forgotten his promiſe; and ſhould therefore have ſent that letter by one of my own domeſtics, if Caninius had not aſſured me of your intention to leave Tuſculum the next morning. However, after a few days had intervened, and I had given over all expectations of Caninius, he made me a ſe-

[8] A proverbial expreſſion of the ſame import with that of "ſending coals to Newcaſtle." It alludes to the Athenian coin, which was ſtamped (as Manutius obſerves) with the figure of an owl.

[9] Probably the preceding letter.

cond

cond viſit, and acquainted me that he was inſtantly ſetting out to you. But notwithſtanding the letter I had written was then become altogether out of date, eſpecially after the arrival of ſuch important news [1]; yet as I was unwilling that any of my profound lucubrations ſhould be loſt, I delivered it into the hands of that very learned and affectionate friend of yours: who I ſuppoſe has acquainted you with the converſation which paſſed between us at the ſame time. A.U. 707.

I think it moſt prudent for both of us, to avoid the view at leaſt, if we cannot ſo eaſily eſcape the remarks of the world. For thoſe who are elevated with this victory, look down upon us with an air of triumph; and thoſe who regret it, are diſpleaſed that we did not ſacrifice our lives in the cauſe. But you will aſk perhaps, (as it is in Rome that we are particularly expoſed to theſe mortifications) why I have not followed your example in retiring from the city? But tell me, my friend, ſuperior as your judgment confeſſedly is, did you never find yourſelf miſtaken? Or who is there, in times of ſuch total darkneſs and confuſion, that can always be ſure of directing his ſteps aright? I have long

[1] Concerning Cæſar's defeat of Scipio in Africa.

thought

A.U. 707. thought indeed, that it would be happy for me to retire where I might neither ſee, nor hear, what paſſes in Rome. But my groundleſs ſuſpicions diſcouraged me from executing this ſcheme: as I was apprehenſive that thoſe who might accidentally meet me on my way, would put ſuch conſtructions upon my retreat as beſt ſuited with their own purpoſes. Some, I imagined, would ſuſpect, or at leaſt pretend to ſuſpect, that I was either driven from Rome by my fears, or withdrew in order to form ſome revolution abroad; and, perhaps too, would report, that I had actually provided a ſhip for that purpoſe. Others, I feared, who knew me beſt, and might be diſpoſed to think moſt favourably of my actions, would be apt to impute my receſs to an abhorrence of a certain party[3]. It is theſe apprehenſions that have hitherto, contrary to my inclinations indeed, detained me in Rome: but cuſtom, however, has familiariſed the unpleaſing ſcene, and gradually hardened me into a leſs exquiſite ſenſibility.

Thus I have laid before you the motives which induce me to continue here. As to what relates to your own conduct; I would adviſe you to remain in your preſent retirement, till the warmth

[3] The Cæſareans.

of

of our public exultation ſhall be ſomewhat abated, and it ſhall certainly be known in what manner affairs abroad are terminated: for terminated, I am well perſuaded, they are[4]. Much will depend on the general reſult of this battle, and the temper in which Cæſar may return. And tho' I ſee already what is abundantly ſufficient to determine my ſentiments as to that point, yet I think it moſt adviſeable to wait the event. In the mean time I ſhould be glad you would poſtpone your journey to Baiæ, till the firſt tranſports of this clamorous joy is ſubſided: as it will have a better appearance to meet you at thoſe waters, when I may ſeem to go thither rather to join with you in lamenting the public misfortunes, than to participate in the pleaſures of the place. But this I ſubmit to your more enlightened judgment: only let us agree to paſs our lives together in thoſe ſtudies, which were once indeed nothing more than our amuſement, but muſt now, alas! prove our principal ſupport. Let us be ready at the ſame time, whenever we ſhall be called upon, to contribute not only our counſels, but our labours, in repairing the ruins of the republic. But if none ſhall require A.U. 707.

[4] When this letter was written there ſeems to have been only ſome general accounts arrived of Cæſar's ſucceſs in Africa; but the particulars of the battle were not yet known.

our

A.U. 707. our ſervices for this purpoſe, let us employ our time and our thoughts upon moral and political inquiries. If we cannot benefit the commonwealth in the forum and the ſenate; let us endeavour at leaſt to do ſo by our ſtudies and our writings: and after the example of the moſt learned among the antients, contribute to the welfare of our country by uſeful diſquiſitions concerning laws and government.

And now, having thus acquainted you with my ſentiments and purpoſes, I ſhall be extremely obliged to you for letting me know yours in return. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

To the Same.

YOU muſt know, my friend, that I am one of thoſe philoſophers who hold the doctrine of Diodorus concerning contingencies [7].

[7] Diodorus was a Greek philoſopher who lived in the court of Ptolomæus Soter, and flouriſhed about 280 years before the Chriſtian æra. He is ſaid to have died with grief for not being able immediately to ſolve a philoſophical queſtion which that prince put to him in converſation. He maintained that nothing could be contingent; but that whatever was poſſible, muſt neceſſarily happen. Cicero ludicrouſly applies this abſurd doctrine to the intended viſit of his friend. *Cic. de Fato.* 7.

Ac-

Accordingly I maintain, that if you ſhould make us a viſit here, you are under an abſolute neceſſity of ſo doing: but if you ſhould not; that it is becauſe your coming hither is in the number of thoſe things which cannot poſſibly happen. Now tell me, which of the two opinions you are moſt inclined to adopt: whether this of the philoſopher I juſt now mentioned, whoſe ſentiments, you know, were ſo little agreeable to our honeſt friend Diodotus [8]; or the oppoſite one of Chryſippus [9]? But we will reſerve theſe curious ſpeculations, till we ſhall be more at leiſure: and this, I will agree with Chryſippus, is a poſſibility which either may, or may not happen. A.U. 707.

[8] Diodotus was a Stoic philoſopher, under whom Cicero had been educated, and whom he afterwards entertained for many years in his houſe. He died about thirteen years before the date of this letter, and left his friend and pupil a conſiderable legacy. *Cic. Academ.* ii. *Ad At.* ii. 20.

[9] Chryſippus was ſucceſſor to Zeno, the celebrated founder of the Stoic School. It appears by a liſt of ſome of his writings which Laertius has given, that he publiſhed a treatiſe on Fate: and probably it was in this book that he oppoſed the ridiculous notions of Diodotus. Seneca repreſents him as a penetrating genius: but one whoſe ſpeculations were ſomewhat too ſubtle and refined. He adds, that his diction was ſo extremely cloſe, that he never employed a ſuperfluous word; a character he could ſcarce deſerve, if what is reported of him be true, that he publiſhed no leſs than 311 treatiſes upon logic, and above 400 upon other ſubjects. One cannot hear indeed of ſuch an immoderate flux of pen, without being in ſome danger of ſuffering the ſame fate that attended this inexhauſtible genius; who is ſaid to have died in a fit of exceſſive laughter. *Laertius in vit. Senec. de benefic.* i. 3. *Stanley's Hiſt. of Philoſ.* 487.

A.U. 707. I am obliged to you for your good offices in my affair with Cocceius [1]: which I likewiſe recommended to Atticus.—If you will not make me a viſit, I will pay you one: and as your library is ſituated in your garden, I ſhall want nothing to complete my two favourite amuſements; reading and walking. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

To APULEIUS, Proquæſtor [2].

LUcius Egnatius, a Roman knight, is a very particular friend of mine, whoſe affairs in Aſia, together with his ſlave Anchialus who ſuperintends them, I recommend to you with as much zeal as if they were my own. For be aſſured we are united to each other, not only by a daily intercourſe of the higheſt friendſhip, but by many great good offices that have been mutually exchanged between us. As he has not the leaſt doubt of your diſpoſition to oblige me, let me

[1] In the text he is called *Coſtius*: but perhaps (as one of the commentators imagines) it ſhould be *Cocceius*. For Cicero in a letter to Atticus, ſuppoſed to have been written about the ſame time with the preſent, requeſts his aſſiſtance in procuring the payment of a ſum of money owing to him from Cocceius: which is not unlikely to be the ſame affair he alludes to in this paſſage. *Ad At.* xii. 13.

[2] It is wholly uncertain both who this perſon was, and when he exerciſed the office of proquæſtor.

earneſtly intreat you to convince him by your A.U. 707.
ſervices in his favour, that I warmly requeſted them. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

TO VARRO.

THE 7th ſeems to be a very proper time, not only in conſideration of public affairs, but in regard alſo to the ſeaſon of the year: I approve therefore of the day you have named, and will join you accordingly.

I ſhould be far from thinking we had reaſon to reproach ourſelves for the part we have lately acted, even were it true that thoſe who purſued a different conduct had not repented of their meaſures. It was the ſuggeſtions of duty, not of intereſt, that we followed, when we entered into the war: and it was a cauſe utterly deſperate, not the duty we owed our country, that we deſerted, when we laid down our arms. Thus we acted, on the one hand, with greater honour than thoſe who would not leave Italy in order to follow the war abroad; and on the other hand, with more prudence than thoſe who after having ſuffered a total defeat [b], would not

[b] At the battle of Pharſalia.

A.U. 707. be prevailed upon to return home. But there is nothing that I can bear with leſs patience, than the affected ſeverity of our inglorious neuters: and indeed, whatever might be the final event of affairs, I ſhould be much more inclined to venerate the memory of thoſe miſtaken men who obſtinately periſhed in battle, than to be in the leaſt concerned at the reproaches of thoſe who only lament that we are ſtill alive.

If I ſhould have time, I purpoſe to call upon you at Tuſculum before the 7th: if not, I will follow you to Cumæ, agreeably to your appointment. But I ſhall not fail to give you previous notice, that your bath may be prepared. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

To the Same.

YOUR letters to Seius and myſelf were delivered to us, whilſt we were at ſupper together in his houſe. I agree with you in thinking that this is a very proper time for your intended expedition: which, to own my artifice, I have hitherto endeavoured to retard by a thouſand pretences. I was deſirous indeed of keeping you

near

near me, in caſe any favourable news ſhould have arrived [2]. For as Homer ſings, A.U. 707.

The wiſe new wiſdom from the wiſe acquire [3].

But now that the whole affair is decided; beyond all doubt you ſhould ſet forward with the utmoſt ſpeed.

When I heard of the fate that has attended Lucius Cæſar [4], I could not forbear ſaying to myſelf with the old man in the play, "what "*tenderneſs* then may not I expect [5]!" For this reaſon I am a conſtant gueſt at the tables of our preſent potentates: and what can I do better, you know, than prudently ſwim with the current

[2] Concerning the ſucceſs of the Pompeian party againſt Cæſar in Africa: an event, if it had taken place, that would extremely have embarraſſed Cicero. For which reaſon he was deſirous of keeping Varro within his reach, that he might immediately have conſulted with him in what manner to act. See rem. 3. p. 155. of this vol.

[3] Il. X. 224. Pope's tranſl.

[4] He was a diſtant relation of Julius Cæſar: whom however he had conſtantly oppoſed throughout the civil war. Lucius being taken priſoner at the late battle of Thapſus, where Cæſar gained a complete victory over the combined troops of Scipio and Juba, obtained the conqueror's pardon: but Cæſar afterwards changed his mind, and gave private orders to have him aſſaſſinated. *Dio.* xliii. *p.* 219.

[5] This alludes to a paſſage in the Andria of Terence, where Simo the father of Pamphilus, giving an account of his ſon's tender behaviour at the funeral of Chryſis, could not forbear reflecting, he ſays, *Quid mihi hic faciet patri!* But Cicero applies it in a different ſenſe, and means that if Cæſar acted towards his own relations with ſo much cruelty, he had little reaſon to expect a milder treatment.

A.U. 707. of the times? But to be ſerious: (for ſerious, in truth, we have reaſon to be)

See vengeance ſtalk o'er Afric's trembling plain;
And one wide waſte of horrid ruin reign[7]*!*

a circumſtance that fills me with very uneaſy apprehenſions.

I am unable to anſwer your queſtion, when Cæſar will arrive, or where he propoſes to land. Some, I find, doubt whether it will be at Baiæ: and they now talk of his coming home by the way of Sardinia. It is certain, at leaſt, that he has not yet viſited this part of his *demeſnes:* and tho' he has not a worſe *farm*[8] upon all his *eſtate*, he is far however from holding it in contempt. For my own part, I am more inclined to imagine he will take Sicily in his return. But theſe doubts

[7] Theſe lines are quoted from Ennius: a poet, of whom ſome account has been given in the foregoing remarks. The troops of Cæſar purſued their victory over thoſe of Scipio with great cruelty: *acrior Cæſarianorum impetus fuit*, ſays Florus, *indignantium poſt Pompeium creviſſe bellum*. Numbers indeed of Scipio's army muſt neceſſarily have been maſſacred in cool blood: for the hiſtorians agree, that Cæſar's loſs amounted only to 50 men, whereas 10,000 were killed on the ſide of Scipio, according to the account which Hirtius gives of this action; and five times that number, if we may credit Plutarch. *Flor.* iv. 2. *Hirt. Bel. Afric.* 86. *Plut. in vit. Cæſar.*

[8] The iſland of Sardinia was in the time of the Romans (what it ſtill is) extremely barren and unwholeſome. Martial has a pretty alluſion to this latter circumſtance, in one of his epigrams:

Nullo fata loco poſſis excludere: cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia eſt. iv. 60.

will

will ſoon be cleared up: as Dolabella [9] is every moment expected. I believe therefore I muſt take my inſtructions from my diſciple [10]: as many a pupil, you know, has become a greater adept than his maſter. However, if I knew what you had determined upon, I ſhould chiefly regulate my meaſures by yours: for which purpoſe I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XVIII.

To Apulejus, Proquæſtor.

Lucius Zoilus was appointed by the will of his patron, coheir in conjunction with me. I mention this, not only to ſhew you the occaſion of my friendſhip with him, but as an evidence likewiſe of his merit, by being thus diſtinguiſhed

[9] Dolabella attended Cæſar in the African war.

[10] Cicero means that he ſhould learn from Dolabella where Cæſar purpoſed to land, and in what temper he was returning into Italy, together with ſuch other circumſtances as it was neceſſary he ſhould be appriſed of, in order to pay his perſonal congratulations to the conqueror in the moſt proper and acceptable manner. It ſeems probable from this paſſage, that Dolabella had formed his eloquence under Cicero: agreeably to an excellent cuſtom which prevailed in Rome, of introducing the youth upon their firſt entrance into buſineſs, to the acquaintance and patronage of ſome diſtinguiſhed orator of the forum, whom they conſtantly attended in all the public exerciſes of his profeſſion. *Auct. Dialog. de cauſ. corrupt. eloquent.* 34.

A.U. 707. by his patron. I recommend him therefore to your favour, as one of my own family: and you will oblige me in letting him ſee, that you were greatly influenced to his advantage by this letter. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

To VARRO.

OUR friend Caninius acquainted me with your requeſt, that I would write to you whenever there was any news which I thought it concerned you to know. You are already informed, that we are in daily expectation of Cæſar [2]; but I am now to tell you, that as it was his intention, it ſeems, to have landed at Alſium [3], his friends have written to diſſuade him from that deſign. They think that his coming on ſhore at that place will prove extremely troubleſome to himſelf, as well as very much incommode many others: and have therefore recommended Oſtia [4]

[2] Cæſar returned victorious from Africa, about the 26th of July in the preſent year; ſo that this letter was probably written either in the beginning of that month, or the latter end of June. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 98.

[3] The ſituation of this place is not exactly known: ſome geographers ſuppoſe it to be the ſame town which is now called *Severa*, a ſea-port about twenty-five miles diſtant from Rome, on the weſtern coaſt of Italy.

[4] It ſtill retains its antient name; and is ſituated at the mouth of the Tiber.

as

as a more convenient port. For my own part, A.U. 707.
I can ſee no difference. Hirtius [5], however, aſ-
ſures me, that himſelf as well as Balbus [6] and
Oppius [7] (who, let me obſerve by the way, are
every one of them greatly in your intereſt) have
written to Cæſar for this purpoſe. I thought
proper therefore to ſend you this piece of intel-
ligence, for two reaſons. In the firſt place, that
you might know where to engage a lodging;
or rather, that you might ſecure one in both
theſe towns: for it is extremely uncertain at
which of them Cæſar will diſembark. And in
the next place, in order to indulge a little piece
of vanity, by ſhewing you, that I am ſo well with
theſe favourites of Cæſar, as to be admitted into
their privy council. To ſpeak ſeriouſly, I ſee
no reaſon to decline their friendſhip: for ſurely
there is a wide difference between ſubmitting to
evils we cannot remedy, and approving meaſures
that we ought to condemn [8]. Tho' to confeſs

[5] He lived in great intimacy with Cæſar, and had ſerved under him in quality of one of his lieutenants in Gaul. It appears by this paſſage, that he did not attend Cæſar into Africa; ſo that if the hiſtory of that war annexed to Cæſar's Commentaries was really written, as is generally ſuppoſed, by Hirtius, he was not an eye-witneſs of what he relates: a circumſtance which conſiderably weakens the authority of his account.

[6] See rem. 2. p. 319. vol. i.

[7] See rem. 9. p. 134. of this vol.

[8] To cultivate friendſhips with the leaders of a ſucceſsful faction, has ſurely ſomething in it that much reſembles the ap-

the

A. U. 707. the truth, I do not know there are any that I can juſtly blame, except thoſe which involved us in the civil wars: for theſe, it muſt be owned, were altogether voluntary. I ſaw indeed (what your diſtance from Rome prevented you from obſerving [9]) that our party were eager for war: while Cæſar, on the contrary, appeared leſs inclined than afraid to have recourſe to arms. Thus far therefore, our calamities might have been prevented; but all beyond was unavoidable: for one ſide or the other muſt neceſſarily prove ſuperior. Now we both of us, I am ſure, always lamented thoſe infinite miſchiefs that would enſue, whichever general of the two contending armies ſhould happen to fall in battle: as we were well convinced that of all the complicated evils which attend a civil war, victory is the ſupreme. I dreaded it indeed even on that ſide which both you and I thought proper to join: as they threatened moſt cruel vengeance on thoſe who ſtood neuter;

proving of meaſures which we ought to condemn: and tho' it may be policy, moſt certainly it is not patriotiſm. It ill agrees at leaſt with that ſort of abſtracted life, which Cicero in the firſt letter of this book declares he propoſed to lead, if the republic ſhould be deſtroyed. *Vid. Epiſt. Famil.* vii. 3.

[9] Varro, at the breaking out of the civil war, was in Spain: where he reſided in quality of one of Pompey's lieutenants.

and

and were no leſs offended at your ſentiments than A.U. 707.
at my ſpeeches. But had they gained this laſt battle, we ſhould ſtill more ſeverely have experienced the effects of their power: as our late conduct had incenſed them to the higheſt degree. Yet what meaſures have we taken for our own ſecurity, that we did not warmly recommend for theirs? And how have they more advantaged the republic by having recourſe to Juba and his elephants [10], than if they had periſhed by their own ſwords, or ſubmitted to live under the preſent ſyſtem of affairs, with ſome hopes at leaſt, if not with the faireſt. But they may tell us perhaps, (and indeed with truth) that the government under which we have choſen to live, is altogether turbulent and unſettled. Let this objection however have weight with thoſe, who have treaſured up no ſtores in their minds to ſupport themſelves under all the poſſible viciſſitudes of human affairs: a reflection, which brings me round to what I principally had in view, when I undeſignedly wandered into this long digreſſion. I was going to have ſaid, that

[10] Theſe elephants were drawn up in the front of the right and left wing of Scipio's army. But being driven back upon the line behind them, they put the ranks into great confuſion: and inſtead of proving of any advantage to Scipio, contributed to facilitate his defeat. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 82.

as

A.U. 707. as I always looked upon your character with great admiration, ſo nothing raiſes it higher in my eſteem, than to obſerve that you are almoſt the only perſon in theſe tempeſtuous days, who has wiſely retreated into harbour: and are enjoying the happy fruits of thoſe important ſtudies which are attended with more public advantage as well as private ſatisfaction, than all the ambitious exploits, or voluptuous indulgencies, of theſe licentious victors. The contemplative hours you ſpend at your Tuſculan villa, are in my eſtimation indeed, what alone deſerve to be called life: and I would willingly renounce the whole wealth and ſplendor of the world, to be at liberty to paſs my time in the ſame philoſophical manner. I follow your example, however, as far as the circumſtances in which I am placed will permit: and have recourſe with great ſatisfaction of mind, to my favourite ſtudies. Since our country indeed either cannot or will not accept our ſervices; who ſhall condemn us for returning to that contemplative privacy which many philoſophers have thought preferable (I will not ſay with reaſon, however they have preferred) even to the moſt public and patriot labours? And why ſhould we not indulge ourſelves in thoſe learned inquiries,

inquiries, which ſome of the greateſt men have deemed a juſt diſpenſation from all public employments; when it is a liberty at the ſame time which the commonwealth itſelf is willing to allow us.—But I am going beyond the commiſſion which Caninius gave me: and while he only deſired that I would acquaint you with thoſe articles of which you were not already appriſed, I am telling you what you know far better than I can inform you. For the future, I ſhall confine myſelf more ſtrictly to your requeſt: and will not fail of communicating to you whatever intelligence I may learn, which I ſhall think it imports you to know. Farewel. A. U. 707.

LETTER XX.

To PAPIRIUS PÆTUS [1].

YOUR letter afforded me a very agreeable inſtance of your friendſhip, in the concern it expreſſed leſt I ſhould be uneaſy at the report which had been brought hither by Silius [2]. I was before indeed perfectly ſenſible how much you

[1] See vol. ii. p. 15. rem. 1.

[2] Silius, it ſhould ſeem, had brought an account from the army, that ſome witticiſms of Cicero had been reported to Cæſar which had given him offence.

were

A.U. 707. were diſturbed at this circumſtance, by your care in ſending me duplicates of a former letter upon the ſame ſubject: and I then returned ſuch an anſwer as I thought would be ſufficient to abate at leaſt, if not entirely remove this your generous ſollicitude. But ſince I perceive by your laſt letter, how much this affair ſtill dwells upon your mind; let me aſſure you, my dear Pætus, that I have employed every artifice, (for we muſt now, my friend, be armed with cunning as well as prudence) to conciliate the good graces of the perſons you mention: and if I miſtake not, my endeavours have not proved in vain. I receive indeed ſo many marks of reſpect and eſteem from thoſe who are moſt in Cæſar's favour, that I cannot but flatter myſelf they have a true regard for me. It muſt be confeſſed at the ſame time, that a pretended affection is not eaſily diſcernible from a real one, unleſs in ſeaſons of diſtreſs. For adverſity is to friendſhip, what fire is to gold; the only infallible teſt to diſcover the genuine from the counterfeit: in all other circumſtances they both bear the ſame common ſignatures. I have one ſtrong reaſon however to perſuade me of their ſincerity: as neither their ſituation nor mine can by any means tempt them to diſſemble with me. As to that perſon [1] in whom

[1] Cæſar.

all

all power is now centered; I am not ſenſible that I have any thing to fear from him: or nothing more at leaſt, than what ariſes from that general precarious ſtate in which all things muſt ſtand where the fence of laws is broken down; and from its being impoſſible to pronounce with aſſurance concerning any event, which depends wholly upon the will, not to ſay the caprice, of another. But this I can with confidence affirm, that I have not in any ſingle inſtance given him juſt occaſion to take offence: and in the article you point out, I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, 'tis true, when I thought it well became me, by whom Rome itſelf was free [4], to ſpeak my ſentiments with freedom: but now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my preſent ſituation, not to ſay any thing that may diſguſt either Cæſar or his favourites. But were I to ſuppreſs every riſing raillery, that might pique thoſe at whom it is directed, I muſt renounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit. And in good earneſt, it is a character upon which I do not ſet ſo high a value, as to be unwilling to reſign it, if it were in my power. However, I am in no danger of ſuffering in Cæſar's opinion, by being repreſented as the author of any ſarcaſms to which I have A.U. 707

[4] Alluding to his ſervices in the ſuppreſſion of Catiline's conſpiracy.

no

A.U. 707. no claim: for his judgment is much too penetrating ever to be deceived by any impoſition of this nature. I remember your brother Servius, whom I look upon to have been one of the moſt learned critics that this age has produced, was ſo converſant in the writings of our poets, and had acquired ſuch an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately diſtinguiſh the numbers of Plautus, from thoſe of any other author. Thus Cæſar, I am told, when he made his large collection of apophthegms [s], conſtantly rejected any piece of wit that was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be ſpurious: a diſtinction which he is much more able to make at preſent, as his particular friends paſs almoſt every day of their lives in my company. As our converſation generally turns upon a variety of ſubjects, I frequently ſtrike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void, perhaps of ſpirit, or ingenuity. Now theſe little ſallies of pleaſantry, together with the general occurrences of Rome, are conſtantly tranſmitted to Cæſar, in purſuance of his own expreſs directions: ſo that if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming

[s] This collection was made by Cæſar, when he was very young: and probably it was a performance by no means to his honour. For Auguſtus, into whoſe hands it came after his death, would not ſuffer it to be publiſhed. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 56.

from

from me, he always diſregards it. You ſee then, A.U. 707.
that the lines you quote with ſo much propriety from the tragedy of Oenomaus[6], contain a caution altogether unneceſſary. For tell me, my friend, what jealouſies can I poſſibly create? Or who will look with envy upon a man in my humble ſituation? But granting that I were in ever ſo enviable a ſtate; yet let me obſerve, that it is the opinion of thoſe philoſophers, who alone ſeem to have underſtood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is anſwerable for nothing farther than his own innocence. Now in this reſpect I think myſelf doubly irreproachable: in the firſt place, by having recommended ſuch

[6] Written by Accius, a tragic poet, who flouriſhed about the year of Rome 617. The ſubject of this piece probably turned upon the death of Oenomaus king of Elis, and the marriage of his daughter Hippodamia. This prince being informed by an oracle, that he ſhould loſe his life by his future ſon-in-law, contrived the following expedient to diſappoint the prophecy. Being poſſeſſed of a pair of horſes of ſuch wonderful ſwiftneſs, that it was reported they were begotten by the winds, he propoſed to the ſeveral ſuitors of his daughter, that whoever of them ſhould beat him in a chariot race ſhould be rewarded with Hippodamia, upon condition that they conſented to be put to death if they loſt the match. Accordingly thirteen of theſe unfortunate rivals entered the liſt: and each of them in their turn paid the forfeiture of their lives. But Pelops, the ſon of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, being more artful than the reſt, bribed the charioteer of Oenomaus to take out the lynch pin of his chariot wheel; by which means Oenomaus was daſhed to pieces in the courſe, and Pelops carried off the beautiful Hippodamia. *Hygin. Fab.* 83.

A.U. 707. public meaſures as were for the intereſt of the commonwealth; and in the next, that finding I was not ſufficiently ſupported to render my counſels effectual, I did not deem it adviſeable to contend for them by arms againſt a ſuperior ſtrength. Moſt certainly therefore I cannot juſtly be accuſed of having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part then that now remains for me, is to be cautious not to expoſe myſelf by any indiſcreet word or action, to the reſentment of thoſe in power: a part which I hold likewiſe to be agreeable to the character of true wiſdom. As to the reſt; what liberties any man may take in imputing words to me which I never ſpoke; what credit Cæſar may give to ſuch reports; and how far thoſe who court my friendſhip, are really ſincere: theſe are points for which it is by no means in my power to be anſwerable. My tranquillity ariſes therefore from the conſcious integrity of my counſels in the times that are paſt, and from the moderation of my conduct in theſe that are preſent. Accordingly I apply the ſimile you quote from Accius [7], not only to Envy, but to Fortune: that weak and inconſtant power, whom every wiſe and reſolute mind ſhould reſiſt with as much firmneſs as a rock repels the waves. Grecian ſtory will abundantly ſupply examples

[7] The Poet mentioned in the preceding remark.

of

of the greateſt men, both at Athens and Syra- A.U. 707.
cuſe, who have in ſome ſort preſerved their independency, amidſt the general ſervitude of their reſpective communities. May I not hope then to be able ſo to comport myſelf under the ſame circumſtances, as neither to give offence to our rulers, on the one hand, nor to injure the dignity of my character, on the other?

But to turn from the ſerious, to the jocoſe part of your letter.—The ſtrain of pleaſantry you break into, immediately after having quoted the tragedy of Oenomaus, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing at the end of thoſe graver dramatic pieces, the buffoon humour of our low mimes, inſtead of the more delicate burleſque of the old Atellan farces [8]. Why elſe do you talk of your paltry polypus [9], and your mouldy cheeſe? In pure good-nature, 'tis true, I formerly ſubmitted to ſit down with you to ſuch homely fare: but more refined company

[8] Theſe Atellan farces, which in the earlier periods of the Roman ſtage were acted at the end of the more ſerious dramatic performances, derived their name from Atella a town in Italy, from whence they were firſt introduced at Rome. They conſiſted of a more liberal and genteel kind of humour than the mimes: a ſpecies of comedy, which ſeems to have taken its ſubject from low life. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

[9] A ſea fiſh ſo extremely tough that it was neceſſary to beat it a conſiderable time before it could be rendered fit for the table. *Bruyer. de re cibar.* xxi. 14.

A.U. 707. has improved me into a better taſte. For Hirtius and Dolabella, let me tell you, are my preceptors in the ſcience of the table: as in return, they are my diſciples in that of the bar. But I ſuppoſe you have already heard, at leaſt if all the town-news is tranſmitted to you, that they frequently declaim at my houſe [10], and that I as often ſup at theirs. You muſt not however hope to eſcape my intended viſit, by pleading poverty in bar to the admiſſion of ſo luxurious a gueſt. Whilſt you were raiſing a fortune indeed, I bore with your parſimonious humour: but now that you are in circumſtances to ſupport the loſs of half your wealth, I expect that you receive me in another manner than you would one of your compounding debtors [11]. And tho' your finances may ſomewhat ſuffer by my viſit;

[10] Cicero had lately inſtituted a kind of academy for eloquence in his own houſe: at which ſeveral of the leading young men in Rome uſed to meet, in order to exerciſe themſelves in the art of oratory. Cicero himſelf will acquaint the reader with his motives for inſtituting this ſociety, in the 22d letter of the preſent book.

[11] This alludes (as Manutius obſerves) to a law which Cæſar paſſed in favour of thoſe who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war. By this law, as appears from the paſſages which that commentator has cited, commiſſioners were appointed to take an account of the eſtate and effects of theſe debtors, which were to be aſſigned to their reſpective creditors according to their valuation before the civil war broke out: and whatever ſums had been paid for intereſt, was to be conſidered as in diſcharge of the principal. By this ordinance Pætus, it ſeems, had been a particular ſufferer. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* iii. 1. *Suet. In vit. Jul.* 42.

remember it is better they ſhould be impaired by treating a friend, than by lending to a ſtranger. I do not inſiſt however, that you ſpread your table with ſo unbounded a profuſion, as to furniſh out a ſplendid treat with the remains: I am ſo wonderfully moderate, as to deſire nothing more than what is perfectly elegant and exquiſite in its kind. I remember to have heard you deſcribe an entertainment, which was given by Phameas. Let yours be the exact copy of his: only I ſhould be glad not to wait for it quite ſo long. Should you ſtill perſiſt, after all, to invite me, as uſual, to a penurious ſupper diſhed out by the ſparing hand of maternal oeconomy; even this, perhaps, I may be able to ſupport. But I would fain ſee that heroe bold who ſhould dare to ſet before me the villainous traſh you mention; or even one of your boaſted polypuſſes, with an hue as florid as vermilioned Jove [12]. Take my word for it, my friend, your prudence will not ſuffer you to be thus adventurous. Fame, no doubt, will have proclaimed at your villa my late converſion to luxury, long before my arrival: and you will ſhiver at the ſound of her tremendous report. Nor muſt you flatter yourſelf with the A.U. 707.

[12] Pliny the naturaliſt mentions a ſtatue of Jupiter erected in the Capitol, which on certain feſtival days it was cuſtomary to paint with vermilion. *Manut.*

A.U. 707. hope of abating the edge of my appetite, by your cloying ſweet-wines before ſupper: a ſilly cuſtom which I have now entirely renounced; being much wiſer than when I uſed to damp my ſtomach with your antepaſts of olives and Leucanian ſauſages.—But not to run on any longer in this jocoſe ſtrain; my only ſerious wiſh is, that I may be able to make you a viſit. You may compoſe your countenance, therefore, and return to your mouldy cheeſe in full ſecurity: for my being your gueſt will occaſion you, as uſual, no other expence than that of heating your baths. As for all the reſt, you are to look upon it as mere pleaſantry.

The trouble you have given yourſelf about Selicius's villa [13], is extremely obliging: as your deſcription of it was exceſſively drole, I believe therefore from the account you give me, I ſhall renounce all thoughts of making that purchaſe: for tho' the country, it ſeems, abounds in ſalt, the neighbourhood, I find, is but *inſipid*. Farewel.

[13] In Naples.

LET-

LETTER XXI.

TO VOLUMNIUS[1].

YOU have little reaſon, believe me, to regret the not being preſent at my declamations[2]: and if you ſhould really envy Hirtius, as you aſſure me you ſhould if you did not love him; it muſt be much more for his own eloquence, than as he is an auditor of mine. In truth, my dear Volumnius, either I am utterly void of all genius, or incapable of exerciſing it to my ſatisfaction, now that I have loſt thoſe illuſtrious fellow-labourers at the bar, that fired me with emulation when I uſed to gain your judicious applauſe. If ever, indeed, I diſplayed the powers of eloquence with advantage to my reputation, let me ſend a ſigh when I reflect, with the fallen Philoctetes in[3] the play, that

A.U. 707.

Theſe potent ſhafts, the heroes wonted dread,
Now ſpend on meaner war their idle force;
Aim'd at the weak inhabitants of air!

[1] See rem. 8. on let. 18. B. iv.

[2] See rem. 10. on the preceding letter.

[3] Philoctetes was the friend and companion of Hercules, who when he was dying preſented him with his quiver of arrows which had been dipped in the hydra's gall. When the Grecian princes aſſembled in order to revenge the cauſe of Menelaus, they were aſſured by an oracle that Troy

A.U. 707. However, if you will give me your company here, my ſpirits will be more enlivened: tho' I need not add, that you will find me engaged in a multitude of very important occupations. But if I can once get to the end of them (as I moſt earneſtly wiſh) I ſhall bid a long farewel both to the forum and the ſenate, and chiefly devote my time to you and ſome few others of our common friends. In this number are Caſſius and Dolabella, who are united with us in the ſame favourite ſtudies, and to whoſe performances I with great pleaſure attend. But we want the aſſiſtance of your refined judgment, and of that uncommon erudition which has often ſtruck me with awe when I have been delivering my ſentiments before you. I have determined then, if I ſhould obtain the conſent, or at leaſt the permiſſion of Cæſar, to retire from that ſtage

could never be taken without the aſſiſtance of theſe arrows. An embaſſy therefore was ſent to Philoctetes to engage him on their ſide: who accordingly conſented to attend their expedition. But being diſabled from proceeding with theſe heroes in their voyage, by an accidental wound which he received in the foot from one of his own arrows; they ungenerouſly left him on a deſolate iſland: and it was here that he was reduced to the mortifying neceſſity of employing theſe formidable ſhafts in the humble purpoſes of ſupplying himſelf with food. The lines here quoted are taken from Accius, a dramatic poet who flouriſhed about the year of Rome 623, and who probably had formed a tragedy upon the ſubject of this adventure. *Serv. in Æn.* iii. 402.

on

on which I have frequently performed a part that A.U. 707.
he himſelf has applauded. It is my reſolution indeed, totally to conceal myſelf in the ſecret ſhades of philoſophy; where I hope to enjoy with you and ſome others of the ſame contemplative diſpoſition, the honourable fruits of a ſtudious leiſure.

I am ſorry you ſhortened your laſt letter in the apprehenſion that I ſhould not have patience to read a longer. But aſſure yourſelf for the future, that the longer yours are, the more acceptable they will always prove to me. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

To Papirius Pætus.

YOUR very agreeable letter found me wholly diſengaged at my Tuſculan villa. I retired hither during the abſence of my pupils [a]; whom I have ſent to meet their victorious friend [b], in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour.

As Dionyſius the tyrant, after he was expelled from Syracuſe, opened a ſchool, it is ſaid, at Corinth [c]; in the ſame manner, being driven

[a] Hirtius and Dolabella.

[b] Cæſar: in his return from the African war.

[c] He was expelled from Sicily about 340 years before the birth of our Saviour, on account of his oppreſſive govern-

from

A.U. 707. from my dominions in the forum, I have erected a ſort of academy in my own houſe: and I perceive by your letter, that you approve the ſcheme. I have many reaſons for approving it too: and principally as it affords me what is highly expedient in the preſent conjuncture, a mean of eſtabliſhing an intereſt with thoſe [5] in whoſe friendſhip I may find a protection. How far my intentions in this reſpect may be anſwered, I know not: I can only ſay, that I have hitherto had no reaſon to prefer the different meaſures which others of the ſame party with myſelf have purſued; unleſs perhaps it would have been more eligible not to have ſurvived the ruin of our cauſe. It would ſo, I confeſs, had I died either in the camp [6], or in the field: but the former did not happen to be my fate; and as to the latter, I never was engaged in any action. But the in-

ment; whilſt retiring to Corinth, he employed himſelf in exerciſing the humbler tyranny of a pedagogue. It is ſuppoſed that he engaged in this office the more effectually to conceal the ſchemes he was ſtill meditating of recovering his dominions. *Juſtin.* xxi. 5.

[5] Particularly Hirtius and Dolabella.

[6] The expreſſion in the original is extremely conciſe: *In lectulo? Fateor: ſed non accidit.* This ſeems to allude to the ſickneſs with which Cicero was attacked in the camp of Dyrrachium, and that prevented him from being preſent at the battle of Pharſalia, or at leaſt furniſhed him with a plauſible excuſe for his abſence. *Plut. in vit. Ciceron.*

glorious

glorious manner in which Pompey [7], together with Scipio [8], Afranius [9] and your friend Lentulus [10], ſeverally loſt their lives, will ſcarcely, I ſuppoſe, be thought a more deſirable lot. As to Cato's death [11]; it muſt be acknowledged to have been truly noble: and I can ſtill follow his example, A.U. 707.

[7] An account of the manner and circumſtances of Pompey's death, has already been given in rem. 6. p. 200. of this vol.

[8] Scipio after the unfortunate battle of Thapſus [ſee rem. 7. p. 246. of this vol.] endeavouring to make his eſcape into Spain, was driven back upon the coaſt of Africa, where he fell in with a ſquadron of Cæſar's fleet commanded by Hirtius. Scipio was ſoon over-powered by the ſtrength and number of the enemy's ſhips: and himſelf together with the few veſſels that attended him were all ſunk. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 96.

[9] Afranius had been one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, and had a command in Scipio's army in Africa. He was taken priſoner in attempting to make his eſcape after the defeat of that general, and murdered by the ſoldiers. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 95.

[10] This is not the ſame perſon to whom the letters in the firſt and ſecond book of this collection are addreſſed, but Lucius Lentulus who was conſul with Marcellus *an. urb.* 704. the year in which the civil war broke out. After the defeat at Pharſalia, he fled to the iſland of Cyprus; where receiving intelligence that Pompey was gone into Egypt, he immediately ſet ſail in order to join him. He arrived on the next day after that unfortunate general had been cruelly aſſaſſinated: and being ſeiſed the moment he landed, he underwent the ſame fate with that of his illuſtrious friend, in purſuance of an order for that purpoſe from Ptolemy. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Cæſar. de Bel. Civil.* iii. 102. 104.

[11] The manner and circumſtances of Cato's having deſtroyed himſelf, are too well known to be particulariſed in this place. A late noble writer is of opinion, that Cato abandoned the cauſe of liberty too ſoon, and that he would have died with a better grace at *Munda*, than at *Utica*. This

when-

A.U. 707. whenever I ſhall be ſo diſpoſed. Let me only endeavour, as in fact I do, not to be compelled to it by the ſame neceſſity [12]: and this is my

cenſure, it muſt be owned, has the appearance of being juſt, if we conſider it only with reſpect to the event: but if there had been a real foundation for the reproach, it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed that it ſhould have eſcaped every one of the ancient writers who ſpeak of this illuſtrious Roman's exit; and that Cicero, in particular, who moſt certainly did not love Cato, ſhould have made an honourable exception of his death, out of that liſt which he here condemns. It is true, the republican party, after the defeat of Scipio in Africa, made a very powerful ſtruggle againſt Cæſar under the command of young Pompey in Spain. But it is highly probable, that there was not the leaſt rational expectation of this circumſtance, when Cato thought it became him to put an end to his life. For it appears from Plutarch that he would have defended Utica to the laſt, if he could have perſuaded the principal Romans in that garriſon to have ſupported him: and it was not till after all his remonſtrances for that purpoſe proved utterly ineffectual, and that he had ſecured the retreat of thoſe who did not chooſe to ſurrender themſelves to Cæſar, that this exemplary patriot fell upon his own ſword. Thus died this truly great and virtuous Roman! He had long ſtood forth the ſole uncorrupted oppoſer of thoſe vices that proved the ruin of this degenerate commonwealth; and ſupported, as far as a ſingle arm could ſupport, the declining conſtitution. But when his ſervices could no farther avail, he ſcorned to ſurvive what had been the labour of his whole life to preſerve, and bravely periſhed with the liberties of his country. This is the purport of that noble eulogy which Seneca, in much ſtronger language, has juſtly beſtowed upon Cato: *Adverſus vitia degenerantis civitatis*, ſays he, *ſtetit* ſolus, *& cadentem rempublicam, quantum, modo* una *retrahi* manu *poterat, retinuit; donec comitem ſe diu ſuſtentatæ ruinæ dedit: ſimulque extincta ſunt quæ nefas erat dividi. Neque enim Cato poſt libertatem vixit, nec libertas poſt Catonem.* Lord Bolingbroke's Letter on Patriotiſm, p. 36. Plut. de vit. Caton. Senec. de conſtant. Sapient. 2.

[12] The only neceſſity which Cato was under of putting an end to his life, aroſe from that uniform oppoſition he had

firſt

first reaſon for engaging in my preſent ſcheme. A.U. 707.
My next is, that I find it an advantage, not only to my health [13], which began to be impaired by the intermiſſion of exerciſes of this kind, but alſo to my oratorical talents, if any I ever poſſeſſed: which would have totally loſt their vigor, if I had not had recourſe to this method of keeping them in play. The laſt benefit I ſhall mention (and the principal one, I dare ſay, in your eſtimation) is, that it has introduced me to the demoliſhing of a greater number of delicious peacocks [14], than you have had the devouring of

given to the dangerous deſigns of the conqueror: and it muſt be allowed, that Cicero took ſufficient care not to fall under the ſame.

[13] A mere Engliſh reader will be ſurpriſed to hear Cicero talk of eloquence as an *exerciſe*. There is nothing indeed more indolent and immoveable than a Britiſh orator: or if he ventures into action, his geſtures are generally ſuch as would render the fineſt ſpeech that Demoſthenes or Cicero ever delivered, abſolutely powerleſs or ridiculous. "You "may ſee many a ſmart rhetorician (ſays the inimitable "Mr. Addiſon) turning his hat in his hands, moulding it "into ſeveral different cocks, examining ſometimes the lin-"ing and ſometimes the button, during the whole courſe of "his harangue. A deaf man would think he was cheapen-"ing a beaver: when perhaps he is talking of the fate of the "Britiſh nation." But among the orators of Greece and Rome it was far otherwiſe. They ſtudied the eloquence of action as much as that of diction; and their rhetoricians have laid down rules for the graceful management of the ſhoulders, the arms, the hands, and the feet, which were each of them engaged by turns in the emphatical *exerciſe* of antient elocution. *Spect.* vi. p. 30. *Quinctil.* xi. 3.

[14] This bird was eſteemed by the Romans amongſt the moſt refined delicacies of the table, and no entertainment

paltry

A.U. 707. paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth of it is, whilſt you are humbly ſipping the meagre broths of the ſneaking Aterius, I am luxuriouſly regaling myſelf with the ſavoury ſoops of the magnificent Hirtius. If you have any ſpirit then, fly hither, and learn from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine your own: tho' to do your talents juſtice, this is a ſort of knowledge in which you are much ſuperior to our inſtructions. However, ſince you can get no purchaſers for your mortgages, and are not likely to fill thoſe pitchers you mention with denarii [15], it will be your wiſeſt ſcheme to return hither: for it is a better thing, let me tell you, to be ſick with good eating at Rome, than for want of victuals at Naples [16]. In ſhort, I plainly perceive that your finances are in no flouriſhing ſituation, and I expect to hear the ſame account of all your neighbours: ſo that famine, my friend, moſt

was thought completely elegant where a peacock did not make one of the diſhes. They bore a moſt incredible price: Varro aſſures us, that an hundred peacocks produced to the owner the annual profit of about three hundred pounds ſterling. *Var. de re Ruſtic.* iii. 6.

[15] The denarius was a ſilver coin, equivalent to about eight-pence of our money. Cicero's raillery alludes to the loſs which Pætus had ſuffered by the late edict of Cæſar concerning debtors: of which an account has been given in rem. 11. p. 260. of this vol.

[16] Pætus had a houſe in Naples: where he appears to have been when this letter was written.

formidable

formidable famine muſt be your fate, if you do not provide againſt it in due time. And ſince you have been reduced to ſell your horſe, e'en mount your mule (the only animal, it ſeems, belonging to you which you have not yet ſacrificed to your table) and convey yourſelf immediately to Rome. To encourage you to do ſo, you ſhall be honoured with a chair and cuſhion next to mine; and ſit the ſecond great pedagogue in my celebrated ſchool. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XXIII.

To the Same.

YOUR ſatyrical humour, I find, has not yet forſaken you: and I perfectly well underſtand your raillery, when you gravely tell me, that Balbus contented himſelf with your humble fare. You inſinuate, I ſuppoſe, that ſince theſe our ſovereign [1] rulers are thus wonderfully temperate; much more does it become a diſcarded conſular [2] to practiſe the ſame abſtemiouſneſs.

[1] Balbus was a ſort of prime miniſter and chief confident of Cæſar.

[2] The conſulars were thoſe who had paſſed thro' the office of conſul.

A.U. 707. But do you know, my friend, that I have artfully drawn from Balbus himſelf, the whole hiſtory of the reception you gave him? He came directly to my houſe the moment he arrived in Rome: a circumſtance, by the way, ſomewhat extraordinary. Not that I am ſurpriſed at his wanting the politeneſs to call firſt at yours; but my wonder is, that he ſhould not go directly to his own [3]. However, after the two or three firſt ſalutations had paſſed, I immediately enquired what account he had to give of my friend Pætus? "Never, he proteſted, was he better entertained "in his whole life." Now if you merited this compliment by your wit; I deſire you to remember, that I ſhall bring as elegant a taſte with me as Balbus himſelf: but if he alluded to the honours of your table; let it never be ſaid, that the family of the ſtammerers [4] were more ſplendidly regaled by Pætus, than the ſons of elocution.

Buſineſs has prevented me from time to time, in my deſign of paying you a viſit: but if I can

[3] There is undoubtedly ſome raillery in this paſſage, either upon Pætus or Balbus: but it is impoſſible to diſcover of what nature, as it alludes to circumſtances utterly unknown.

[4] In the original it is, *ne pluris eſſe* Balbos, *quam diſertos putes:* a witticiſm which could not poſſibly be preſerved in the tranſlation. For it turns upon the equivocal ſenſe of the word *Balbus:* which was not only the name of the perſon of whom Cicero is ſpeaking, but ſignifies likewiſe a man who labours under that defect of ſpeech called ſtuttering.

diſpatch

diſpatch my affairs ſo as to be able to come into your part of the world, I ſhall take care that you ſhall have no reaſon to complain of my not having given you timely notice. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Same.

ARE you not a pleaſant mortal to queſtion me concerning the fate of thoſe eſtates [5] you mention, when Balbus had juſt before been paying you a viſit? It is from him indeed, that I derive my whole fund of intelligence: and you may be aſſured, that where he is ignorant, I have no chance of being better informed. I might with much more propriety deſire you would tell me, what is likely to be the fate of my own poſſeſſions: ſince you have ſo lately had a perſon [6] under your roof, from whom, either in, or out of his cups, you might certainly have diſcovered that ſecret. But this, my dear Pætus, is an article that makes no part of my inquiry. For, in the firſt place, I have reaſon to be well ſa-

[5] Probably the eſtates of the Pompeians that lay about Naples: where Pætus ſeems to have been when this letter was written. It appears that Pætus had been alarmed with a rumour that Cæſar intended to ſeize theſe eſtates: and therefore had applied to Cicero to learn the truth of this report.

[6] Balbus.

A.U. 707. tisfied; having now almoſt theſe four years [7] been indulged with my life: if life or indulgence it may be called, to be the ſad ſurvivor of our country's ruin. In the next place, I believe it is a queſtion I may eaſily anſwer myſelf. For I know it will be juſt as it ſhall ſeem meet to the men in power: and the men in power, my friend, will ever be thoſe whoſe ſwords are the moſt prevailing. I muſt reſt contented therefore with whatever grace it ſhall be their pleaſure to ſhew me: for he who could not tamely ſubmit to ſuch wretched terms, ought to have taken refuge in the arms of death. Notwithſtanding therefore that the eſtates about Veii and Capena [8] are actually dividing out, (and theſe, you know, are not far diſtant from Tuſculum [9]) yet it gives me no ſort of diſquietude. I enjoy my property whilſt I may, and pleaſe myſelf with the hope that I

[7] One of the commentators who conceals his true name under that of Ragazonius, collects from this paſſage, that the preſent letter was written A. U. 707: whereas it ſeems to prove, on the contrary, that its date cannot be placed earlier than the year 709. For Cicero appears evidently to allude to the pardon he had received from Cæſar. Now this could not have been till after the battle of Pharſalia, A. U. 705: and the fourth year from that period brings us down to 709. In the beginning therefore of that year, this letter ought to have been placed; but the error of its preſent ſituation was not diſcovered till it was too late to be rectified.

[8] Veii and Capena were cities in that part of Italy called Etruria: which is now comprehended under the name of Tuſcany.

[9] Where Cicero had a villa.

ſhall never be deprived of that privilege. But A.U. 707.
ſhould it happen otherwiſe; ſtill however ſince it was my noble maxim (hero and philoſopher as I was!) that life is the faireſt of all poſſeſſions, I cannot, undoubtedly, but love the man [11] by whoſe bounty I have obtained the continuance of that enjoyment. It is certain, at the ſame time, that how much ſoever he may be diſpoſed perhaps to reſtore the republic (as we ought all of us, moſt certainly, to wiſh,) yet he has entangled himſelf in ſuch a variety of different connections, that he is utterly embarraſſed in what manner to act. But this is going farther into theſe points than is neceſſary, conſidering the perſon to whom I am writing. Nevertheleſs I will add, that our chief himſelf is as abſolutely ignorant what meaſures will finally be reſolved upon, as I am who have no ſhare in his councils. For Cæſar is no leſs under the control of circumſtances, than we are under the control of Cæſar: and it is as much impoſſible for him to foreſee what theſe may require, as it is for us to penetrate into what he may intend.

You muſt not impute it to neglect, (a fault, you are ſenſible, of which I am ſeldom guilty in the article of writing) that I have not ſaid thus much to you before. The ſingle reaſon for my not ſooner anſwering your enquiry was, that as I

[11] Cæſar.

A.U. 707. could only ſpeak from conjecture, I was unwilling without a juſt foundation, either to encreaſe your fears, or to encourage your hopes. But this I can with truth aſſure you, that I have not heard the leaſt hint of the danger you apprehend. A man of your philoſophy however, ought to hope for the beſt, to be prepared for the worſt, and to bear with equanimity whatever may happen. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

To the Same.

YOUR letter gave me a double pleaſure: for it not only diverted me extremely, but was a proof likewiſe that you are ſo well recovered as to be able to indulge your uſual gaiety. I was well contented at the ſame time to find myſelf the ſubject of your raillery: and, in truth, the repeated provocations I had given you, were ſufficient to call forth all the ſeverity of your ſatyr. My only regret is, that I am prevented from taking my intended journey into your part of the world: where I purpoſed to have made myſelf, I do not ſay your gueſt, but one of your family. You would have found me wonderfully changed from the man I formerly was, when you uſed to cram me with your cloying

antepaſts[1]. For I now more prudently ſit down A.U. 707.
to table with an appetite altogether unimpaired: and moſt heroically make my way thro' every diſh that comes before me, from the egg[2] that leads the van, to the roaſt veal that brings up the rear[3]. The temperate and unexpenſive gueſt whom you were wont to applaud, is now no more. I have bidden a total farewel to all the cares of the patriot; and have joined the profeſſed enemies of my former principles: in ſhort, I am become an abſolute Epicurean. You are by no means however to conſider me as a friend to that injudicious profuſion, which is now the prevailing taſte of our modern entertainments: on the contrary, it is that more elegant luxury I ad-

[1] Theſe antepaſts ſeem to have been a kind of collation preparatory to the principal entertainment. They generally conſiſted, it is probable, of ſuch diſhes as were provocatives to appetite: but prudent oeconomiſts, as may be collected from the turn of Cicero's raillery, ſometimes contrived them in ſuch a manner as to damp rather than improve the ſtomach of their gueſts.

[2] The firſt diſh at every Roman table, was conſtantly eggs; which maintained their poſt of honour even at the moſt magnificent entertainments:

——Nec dum omnis abacta
Pauperies epulis regum: nam vilibus ovis
—— eſt—hodie locus. HOR. Sat. ii. 2.

The humble egg at lordly feaſts we ſee:
This ſtill remains of old ſimplicity!

[3] It appears by a paſſage which Manutius cites from Tertullian, that the Romans uſually concluded their feaſts with broiled or roaſted meat.

A.U. 707. mire which you formerly uſed to diſplay when your finances were more flouriſhing [5], tho' your farms were not more numerous, than at preſent. Be prepared therefore for my reception accordingly: and remember you are to entertain a man who has not only a moſt enormous appetite, but, who has ſome little knowledge, let me tell you, in the ſcience of elegant eating. You know there is a peculiar air of ſelf-ſufficiency, that generally diſtinguiſhes thoſe who enter late into the ſtudy of any art. You will not wonder therefore, when I take upon me to inform you, that you muſt baniſh your cakes and your ſweetmeats, as articles that are now utterly diſcarded from all faſhionable bills of fare. I am become indeed ſuch a proficient in this ſcience, that I frequently venture to invite to my table thoſe refined friends of yours, the delicate Verrius and Camillus. Nay I am bolder ſtill; and have preſumed to give a ſupper even to Hirtius himſelf; tho', I muſt own, I could not advance ſo far as to honour him with a peacock [6]. To tell you the truth, my honeſt cook had not ſkill enough to imitate any other part of his ſplendid entertainments, except only his ſmoaking ſoups.

[5] See rem. 11. p. 260. of this vol.

[6] See rem. 14. p. 270. of this vol.

But

But to give you a general ſketch of my manner of life; I ſpend the firſt part of the morning in receiving the compliments of ſeveral both of our dejected patriots, and our gay victors: the latter of whom treat me with great marks of civility and eſteem. As ſoon as that ceremony is over, I retire to my library: where I employ myſelf either with my books or my pen. And here I am ſometimes ſurrounded by an audience, who look upon me as a man of moſt profound erudition, for no other reaſon, perhaps, than becauſe I am not altogether ſo ignorant as themſelves. The reſt of my time I wholly devote to indulgencies of a leſs intellectual kind. I have ſufficiently indeed paid the tribute of ſorrow to my unhappy country: the miſeries whereof I have longer and more bitterly lamented, than ever tender mother bewailed the loſs of her only ſon. A.U. 707.

Let me deſire you, as you would ſecure your magazine of proviſions from falling into my hands, to take care of your health: for I have moſt unmercifully reſolved that no pretence of indiſpoſition ſhall preſerve your larder from my depredations. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

To the Same.

A.U. 707. I Arrived yeſterday at Cumæ [7]; and perhaps I may pay you a viſit to-morrow: but I ſhall take care to give you a ſhort notice before-hand. I am determined indeed not only to ſee you, but to ſup with you too. For tho' I had the mortification to be informed by Marcus Ceparius, whom I met on the road, that you were laid up with the gout; yet I ſuppoſe your cook is not diſabled as well as his maſter. You may expect therefore very ſpeedily to receive a gueſt, who as he is remarkable for having a wonderous puny ſtomach, is equally famous likewiſe for being an irreconcileable enemy to all ſumptuous entertainments. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

To MARCUS MARIUS.

I Arrived at Cumæ on the 24th, accompanied by our friend Libo; and purpoſe to be at my Pompeian villa [8] very ſhortly: but I will give

[7] Where he had a country houſe.
[8] See rem. 3. p. 198. of this vol.

you

you previous notice when I ſhall have fixed the day. I wiſh you the enjoyment of your health at all times; but particularly whilſt I am your neighbour. If you have an aſſignation therefore with your old companion the gout, pray contrive to put it off to ſome other opportunity. In good earneſt, let me deſire you to take care of your health: and expect to ſee me in two or three days. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LET-

LETTERS
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero
TO
Several of his FRIENDS.

BOOK IX.

LETTER I.

To SERVIUS SULPICIUS[1].

I Am continually receiving accounts from various hands, that you are in a more than common degree affected by the general calamities of our country. This is by no means a matter of ſurpriſe to me, as it in ſome meaſure A.U. 707.

[1] Some account has already been given of Sulpicius, in rem. 1. p. 119. of this vol. Upon the breaking out of the cor-

A.U. 707. correſponds with what paſſes in my own boſom. Nevertheleſs, I cannot but regret that a man of your ſuperior underſtanding, ſhould not rather enjoy his own good fortune, than vainly diſquiet himſelf with the miſery of others. As for myſelf, there is none who has more bitterly lamented the general deſolation of the commonwealth: yet there are many reflections from which I now derive great relief; particularly from a conſciouſneſs of the integrity of my former counſels. I long foreſaw, as from ſome advantageous eminence, the ſtorm that was gathering around us: and I foreſaw it, not only by the force of my own diſcernment, but much clearer by the aſſiſtance of your prophetic admonitions. For tho' I was abſent during the greater part of your conſulate [2]; yet I was not unappriſed how often you foretold this fatal war, and what meaſures you recommended for its prevention. In the commencement indeed of your conſular adminiſtration, I

civil war he was a conſiderable time in ſuſpence on which ſide to declare himſelf: [See rem. 1. p. 138. of this vol.] but at length he determined to join Pompey. However, ſoon after the battle of Pharſalia he made his peace with Cæſar: and was appointed by him governor of Greece. It was during his adminiſtration of this province, that the preſent letter, together with the reſt of thoſe which are addreſſed to him in this and the following Book, were written.

[2] Sulpicius was conſul in the year 702: and it was about the latter end of April, or the beginning of May in the ſame year, that Cicero left Rome in order to proceed to his government in Cilicia. *Ad At.* v. 2.

was

was myſelf preſent in the ſenate, when you pru- A.U. 707.
dently endeavoured to awaken our fears, by enumerating thoſe civil wars that had happened within our own memories [3]. And if the authors of theſe, you told the houſe, unſupported by a ſingle example of the ſame kind to give a colour to their conduct, had exerciſed ſuch dreadful cruelties [4]; whoever in future times ſhould ſucceſsfully turn his arms againſt the republic, would moſt aſſuredly prove a much more intolerable tyrant. For they that act by precedent, you obſerved, generally think they act by right: and in caſes of this nature ſeldom fail of improving upon their model. You ſhould remember therefore, that thoſe who refuſed to follow your judicious advice, owe their deſtruction entirely to their own imprudence. But you will aſk, perhaps, "what relief can this conſideration "afford to your mind, amidſt the univerſal wreck "of the republic?" It muſt be acknowledged indeed, that our misfortunes will ſcarce admit of

[3] About two-and-twenty years before the date of this letter, the diſſentions between Marius and Sylla broke out into an open civil war: which terminated in the perpetual dictatorſhip of the latter.

[4] Both Marius and Sylla perpetrated, in their turns, the moſt horrid outrages againſt the partiſans of each other; but particularly Sylla: whoſe ſanguinary proſcriptions during his uſurpation, afford the moſt dreadful inſtances, perhaps, of human cruelty, that are to be met with in the whole annals of deſpotic power. *Vid. Salluſt. Bel. Catil.* 51.

con-

A.U. 707. conſolation: ſo total and ſo irrecoverable is the ruin we deplore! However, Cæſar himſelf, as well as every citizen of Rome beſides, looks upon you as ſhining forth, amidſt this general extinction of the great lights of the republic, in all the luſtre and dignity of wiſdom and virtue. Theſe conſiderations therefore ought greatly to alleviate the generous diſquietude of your heart. 'Tis true, you are abſent from your friends and family: but this you have the leſs reaſon to regret, as you are removed at the ſame time from many very diſagreeable circumſtances. I would particularly point them out to you, but that I am unwilling you ſhould have the pain of hearing what you are ſo happy as not to ſee: an advantage which renders your ſituation, I think, ſo much the more eligible than ours.

I have thus far laid before you, in the warmeſt friendſhip of my heart, thoſe reaſons which may juſtly contribute to lighten and compoſe your uneaſineſs. The reſt are to be found within yourſelf: and they are conſolations which I know by daily experience, to be of the beſt and moſt efficacious kind. I well remember that you paſſionately cultivated the whole circle of ſciences from your earlieſt youth: and carefully treaſured up in your mind whatever the wiſeſt philoſophers have delivered concerning the beſt

and

and happieſt regulation of human life. Now A.U. 707.
theſe are contemplations both uſeful and entertaining even in ſeaſons of the greateſt calm and proſperity: but in the preſent calamitous ſituation of public affairs, there is nothing elſe that can ſooth and compoſe our minds. I would not be ſo arrogant as to take upon myſelf to exhort a man of your ſenſe and knowledge, to have recourſe to thoſe ſtudies to which I know you have your whole life been devoted. I will only ſay with reſpect to myſelf, (and I hope I ſhall be juſtified by your approbation) that I conſecrated all my time and attention to philoſophy, when I perceived there was no farther employment either in the forum or the ſenate for my favourite art [5]. Scarce more room is there for the exerciſe of that excellent ſcience, in which you, my friend, are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed [6]. I am perſuaded there-

[5] Oratory.

[6] Sulpicius diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſuperior ſkill in the laws of his country: to the knowledge and practice of which ſcience, he principally devoted the ſtudies and the labours of his life. He was the firſt indeed among the Romans who ſeems to have traced and explained the principles of civil law; and to have reduced that branch of knowledge from the vague and confuſed manner in which it had been formerly treated, into a regular and rational ſyſtem. The number of treatiſes which he is ſaid to have compoſed, amount to above an hundred and fifty: but nothing of his hand remains, except two very elegant and intereſting letters, addreſſed to Cicero in the eleventh book of the preſent collection. See p. 6. and 28. of vol. iii. *Cicer. de Clar. Orat.* 152. *Pompon. de Orig. Juris.*

fore,

A.U. 707. fore, that I have no occaſion to admoniſh you to apply your thoughts to the ſame philoſophical contemplations: which if they were attended with no other advantage, would have this at leaſt to recommend them, that they divert the mind from dwelling on its anxieties.

Your ſon applies himſelf to all the polite arts in general, with great ſucceſs: but he particularly excels in thoſe philoſophical ſtudies from whence I juſt now profeſſed to derive the principal conſolation of my life. I know not any man except yourſelf, for whom I have conceived a ſtronger affection: and indeed he very amply returns the warmth of my friendſhip. But he evidently ſhews at the ſame time, that in diſtinguiſhing me with the marks of his reſpect and eſteem, he imagines that he is acting in the moſt agreeable manner to your inclinations. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER II.

To PUBLIUS SERVILIUS ISAURICUS [7], Proconſul.

I Received the account you ſent me of your voyage, with much pleaſure; as it was a proof that you are not unmindful of our friendſhip: than which nothing, be aſſured, can afford me a more real ſatisfaction. Would you ſtill oblige me more? let it be by freely communicating to me the ſtate of your province, and the plan of government upon which you proceed. For tho' the fame of your adminiſtration will undoubtedly reach me by many other ways, yet I ſhall be moſt pleaſed in being made acquainted with it by your own hand. As for myſelf; the hazards to which my letters are expoſed, will not ſuffer me to be ſo frequent in giving you my ſentiments of public affairs, as I ſhall be in appriſing you of what paſſes amongſt us. I have hopes however that our collegue A.U. 707.

[7] Cæſar nominated him joint conſul with himſelf, in the year 507: and Servilius exerciſed the conſular functions at Rome, whilſt his collegue was employed in carrying on the war againſt Pompey in Macedonia. He was at this time proconſul of Aſia Minor: to which province he ſucceeded at the expiration of his conſulate. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* iii. 1.

A.U. 707. Cæſar [8] intends, and indeed that he actually has it under his conſideration, to eſtabliſh a republican form of government of ſome kind: and it is of much importance, that you ſhould be preſent in his council for this purpoſe. But if it be more for your own glory to preſide over Aſia, and preſerve that ill-affected part of the republic in its allegiance; I ought to regulate my inclinations by yours, and prefer what will moſt contribute to the advancement of your intereſt and your honour. Be aſſured I ſhall employ my utmoſt zeal to promote both, by every mean that ſhall appear conducive to that end: among which it ſhall be my principal care to diſtinguiſh your illuſtrious father [9] with all poſſible marks of my

[8] Cæſar was a fellow-member of the college of augurs with Cicero and Servilius.

[9] Servilius the father, after having paſſed thro' the office of conſul in the year 673, was elected governor of Cilicia, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral obſtinate and ſucceſsful engagements with the pirate nations, that infeſted the Roman commerce in this part of the eaſtern world. He particularly turned his arms againſt the Iſauri; a people ſituated between Cilicia and Lycaonia; and having penetrated as far as their capital, he not only laid it level with the ground, but demoliſhed ſeveral ſtrong forts which the pirates poſſeſſed in the maritime parts of that kingdom. It was upon this occaſion, that he obtained the title of *Iſauricus*: and at his return to Rome he was honoured likewiſe with a triumph. He died not long after this letter was written, in an extreme old age, and is ſaid to have preſerved his health and ſenſes entire to his laſt moments. *Liv. Epit.* 93. *Flor.* iii. 6. *Dio.* xlv. p. 277.

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obſervance. This indeed is what I juſtly owe him, not only in regard to his high character, and the friendſhip in which we have been long united, but in return likewiſe to the many favours which you and he have conferred upon me. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER III.

To NIGIDIUS FIGULUS[1].

THough I have long been looking out for an occaſion of writing to you; yet I have not only been unable to meet with any particular

[1] Nigidius Figulus was a perſon of great diſtinction, not only in the civil, but literary world. He had paſſed thro' the offices of tribune and prætor, with much honour: and was at this time in the number of thoſe who were ſuffering exile for having taken up arms on the ſide of Pompey. He was extremely well verſed in all the liberal ſciences, but his ſtudies were principally conſecrated to moral and natural knowledge: in the latter of which he ſeems to have made ſuch extraordinary diſcoveries, as to have occaſioned a ſuſpicion that he practiſed the magic art. He was much addicted to judicial aſtrology: and it is ſaid, that being informed of the birth of Octavius, he immediately pronounced that he was deſtined to empire. Lucan has celebrated him for his learning of this kind; and repreſents him as prophetically declaring the future calamities of his country:

At Figulus, cui cura Deos ſecretaque cæli
Noſſe fuit, &c.

One of the commentators aſſerts, (though it does not appear

A.U. 707. ſubject for that purpoſe, but find myſelf utterly at a loſs even to furniſh out a common letter. The calamities of our country have ſpoiled me for thoſe jocoſe epiſtles with which, in happier days, I uſed to entertain my friends: as fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or in truth of thinking, upon any ſubject of a chearful nature. There remains another ſpecies of letters of a grave and ſerious caſt, peculiarly adapted to theſe miſerable times. But as a letter of this kind ought to contain either ſome promiſe of aſſiſting you to ſurmount your misfortunes, or ſome arguments to ſupport you under them; from theſe too I am likewiſe excluded. Sunk indeed, as I am, into the ſame abject fortune as yourſelf; what aſſiſtance can I poſſibly offer you? In ſad truth, I am obliged to have recourſe myſelf to the aid of others: and I have much more reaſon to lament that I live upon theſe diſgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am ſtill in being. I ſay not this from any extraordinary injuries which I have ſuffered in my own perſon: indeed there is nothing which in the preſent conjuncture

upon what authority) that Figulus died in exile, the year following the date of this letter. *Ad Q. F.* 1. 2. *Cic. Fragm. de Univer. in Princip. Dio.* xlv. p. 270. *Suet. in Aug.* 94. *Lucan.* i. 693.

I could

I could wiſh for myſelf, that Cæſar has not voluntarily offered me. Nevertheleſs, the ſorrows that oppreſs my heart, are of ſo ſevere a nature, that I think myſelf guilty of a crime in ſtill continuing to live. For I live deprived of many of my moſt intimate friends, whom death, or thoſe public calamities which have driven them from their country, have ſeparated from me: as I have likewiſe loſt by the ſame means all thoſe whoſe good-will I formerly conciliated, when, by your aſſiſtance [2], I ſucceſsfully ſtood forth in defence of the republic. I have the unhappineſs at the ſame time to be placed in the midſt of the general wreck and plunder of their fortunes: and not only have the pain to hear, (but what is far more affecting) am a ſpectator of the diſſipation of the eſtates which belonged to thoſe illuſtrious aſſociates, who aſſiſted me in extinguiſhing the flames of that dangerous conſpiracy. In a word, I have the mortification to find myſelf utterly diveſted of all credit, authority, and honours in that republic, where I once flouriſhed in the full poſſeſſion of thoſe glorious diſtinctions. A.U. 707.

[2] This alludes to the affair of Catiline's conſpiracy: in which, as in every other article of public concern, Cicero was principally determined in his conduct, by the ſentiments and advice of Nigidius. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

A.U. 707. Cæſar, 'tis true, acts towards me with the utmoſt generoſity: but his generoſity cannot reſtore what I have loſt by the general violence and confuſion of the times. Thus bereaved of thoſe advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by inclination and by cuſtom, I imagine that the world is no leſs diſſatisfied with me, than I am with myſelf. Formed indeed as I was by nature to be perpetually engaged in the nobleſt and moſt important occupations, I am now deprived of every mean, not only of acting, but of thinking to any public purpoſe. There was a time when my aſſiſtance could have raiſed the obſcure, and protected even the guilty: but now I cannot ſo much as ſend a favourable promiſe to Nigidius; to the virtuous, the learned Nigidius; to the man who once flouriſhed in the higheſt credit, and who was always my warmeſt friend! Thus you ſee that I am totally diſqualified from writing letters to you of this kind.

The only ſubject that remains to me then, is to endeavour to draw off your mind from its inquietudes, by laying before you ſuch arguments as may afford you a well-grounded conſolation. But if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the ſtrongeſt reaſonings of this nature, either for his own uſe, or for that of others, moſt

undoubtedly it is yourſelf. Such therefore as may be drawn from the refined ſources of philoſophy, I will not pretend to touch: but ſhall leave them entirely to your own ſuggeſtions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wiſdom and fortitude: whatever is agreeable to that character you have ſuſtained in the world, and to thoſe ſtudies in which you ſo early excelled; whatever, in ſhort, is expected from a great and exalted mind in the circumſtances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will beſt ſupply. I will only take upon myſelf therefore to inform you of what I have been able to diſcover from my being ſituated in Rome, and giving a particular attention to every occurrence that paſſes. I will venture then with confidence to aſſure you, that your preſent troubles (perhaps too I might add, that thoſe of the republic itſelf) will not be of long continuance. For, in the firſt place, Cæſar ſeems well inclined to recall you from exile: and truſt me, I ſpeak this from no haſty conjecture. On the contrary, I examine his ſentiments and diſpoſition ſo much the more ſtrictly, as I am leſs biaſſed in his favour by any particular connections. I am perſuaded then that the ſingle reaſon for his delaying to reſtore you is, that he may with a better grace refuſe the ſame A.U. 707.

A.U. 707. favour to others, againſt whom he is more warmly incenſed. I am ſure at leaſt, that all his moſt intimate friends and favourites, both think and ſpeak of you highly to your advantage.

In the next place, the populace, or rather I ſhould ſay the whole community in general, are ſtrongly in your intereſt. And let me add, that the republic herſelf, whoſe power at preſent, it muſt be confeſſed, is certainly inconſiderable, but who muſt neceſſarily however recover ſome degree of credit; the republic herſelf, believe me, will ſoon obtain your reſtoration from thoſe who at this time hold her in ſubjection. In this reſpect therefore I may venture even to promiſe you ſome aſſiſtance. With this view, I ſhall cloſely attach myſelf to Cæſar's favourites, who are all of them indeed extremely fond of me, and ſpend much of their time in my company: as I ſhall inſinuate myſelf into an intimacy with Cæſar; to which my own modeſty has hitherto proved the ſingle obſtruction [3]. In ſhort, I ſhall purſue every probable mean of this kind (and ſome too that I dare not

[3] It requires, perhaps, no ordinary portion of faith, to believe it was *modeſty* that kept Cicero at a diſtance from Cæſar. The true reaſon indeed appears from Cicero's own account in the laſt paragraph of the following letter: where he touches upon this article in a more ingenuous manner, than he thought proper in the preſent inſtance. See the 17th and 22d letters of this book.

I commit

commit to paper) in order to obtain your re- A.U. 707.
turn. As to other articles of aſſiſtance, I am ſenſible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer you their ſervices; but you may depend upon me as the firſt and forwardeſt in that number. The ſincere truth is, there is no part of my eſtate which is not as freely at your diſpoſal as it is at mine. But I will ſay the leſs upon this ſubject, as I would rather encourage you to hope (what I am well perſuaded will be the caſe) that you will ſoon have it in your power to make uſe of your own. In the mean while, let me conjure you to preſerve a firm and unbroken ſpirit; remembering, not only the ſublime precepts you have received from other celebrated philoſophers, but thoſe likewiſe which have been the produce of your own judicious reflections. If you attend to theſe, they will teach you to hope the beſt, and at the ſame time to meet whatever may happen with a wiſe compoſure of mind [4]. But theſe are ſentiments which

[4] Nigidius publiſhed many treatiſes on different branches of human and theological ſcience: the ſubjects of which Manutius, with his uſual learning and induſtry, has collected from the ſeveral ancient writers wherein they are cited. It is probable from the preſent paſſage, that he had publiſhed alſo ſome treatiſe concerning fortitude, upon the Pythagoric principles. It is certain at leaſt that Nigidius (and it is a circumſtance greatly to the honour of his character) attempted to bring the philoſophy of Pythagoras into credit

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A.U.707. no man is ſo capable to ſuggeſt to you as yourſelf. I will only add then, that you may be aſſured of my carefully and zealouſly embracing every opportunity of promoting your welfare: as I ſhall always retain a grateful remembrance of the generous ſervices you conferred upon me during my ſevere afflictions [5]. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

To Marcus Marcellus [6].

I Will not venture to condemn, tho' I have not myſelf purſued, thoſe meaſures in which I find you ſtill perſevere [7]: as I have too

with his countrymen: which, after having flouriſhed in Italy during ſome centuries, was now grown almoſt entirely out of repute. It is no wonder indeed that a ſyſtem which in many of its precepts ſeems to have approached very near to the divine morality of the Chriſtian inſtitution, was rejected in an age in which the only faſhionable principles were, to acquire wealth by every means of avarice and injuſtice, and to diſſipate it by every method of luxury and profuſion. *Cic. Fragm. de Univ. in Princip.*

[5] This alludes to Cicero's baniſhment, in the year 694: at which time Nigidius was prætor. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 361.

[6] For a particular account of the character and conduct of Marcellus, ſee rem. 3. let. 31. of Book iii.

[7] This alludes to the different conduct of Cicero and Marcellus, after the battle of Pharſalia; the former (as has already been remarked) having immediately returned into Italy, in order to throw himſelf at the feet of the conqueror; the latter retiring to Mitylene, the capital of Leſbos. In this city Marcellus probably reſided, when the preſent letter was written.

high

high an opinion of *your* judgment, to think the preference is due to my own. The friendſhip, however, in which we have ſo long been intimately united, together with thoſe ſingular marks of affection you have ſhewn towards me from your earlieſt youth, induce me to recommend to you what ſeems conducive to your intereſt, at the ſame time that it appears by no means inconſiſtent with your honour. A.U. 707.

I am ſenſible, that you long foreſaw, no leſs than myſelf, thoſe calamities that have fallen upon our country: and I well remember the patriot-conduct you diſplayed during your glorious adminiſtration of the conſular office. But I remember too, that you diſapproved of the manner in which the civil war was conducted; and that far from being ſatisfied either with the ſtrength or nature of Pompey's forces, you were always extremely diffident of their ſucceſs: in which, I need not add, I entirely agreed with you. In conformity to theſe our mutual ſentiments, as you did not enter very far into the war on your part; ſo I always endeavoured as much as poſſible to avoid it on mine. The point in conteſt between the adverſe parties, was not to be decided indeed by the force of their counſels, and the juſtice of their cauſe; in which we had undoubtedly the advantage; but by the ſingle

ſtrength

A.U. 707. ſtrength of their ſwords; wherein we were evidently inferior. Vanquiſhed therefore we accordingly are: or if virtue never can be vanquiſhed, yet certainly at leaſt we are fallen. Your conduct cannot but be greatly and univerſally applauded in having renounced the ſpirit of contention, when you loſt the hopes of ſucceſs: and you ſhewed, by your own example, that as a wiſe and honeſt patriot will always enter into a civil war with reluctance; ſo he will never chooſe to carry it on to its laſt deſperate extremity. Thoſe who did not purſue the ſame meaſures, formed themſelves into two different parties: and while ſome retreated into Africa, in order to renew the war; others, and myſelf among the reſt, ſubmitted to the conqueror. But you thought proper to ſteer a middle courſe; imagining, perhaps, that it was mean to yield, and obſtinacy to reſiſt. In this, I muſt confeſs, you are thought by many (I might ſay, by the world in general) to have given a proof of your virtue: while there are numbers who admire it likewiſe as an inſtance of great magnanimity [9]. Ne-

[9] It is probable, that Brutus was in the number of thoſe who were in Cicero's thoughts upon this occaſion: as may be collected from a paſſage in Seneca. This noble moraliſt relates, that Brutus in a treatiſe which he wrote concerning virtue, mentioned his having paid a viſit to Marcellus, at Mitylene: where he found him in the utmoſt tranquillity, purſuing with all his uſual taſte and ſpirit,

vertheleſs

vertheleſs there is a time, it ſhould ſeem, A.U. 707.
when this meaſure may ceaſe to be any longer juſtifiable: eſpecially as nothing, I am perſuaded, is wanting to eſtabliſh you in the full poſſeſſion of your fortunes, but your own concurrence. For he in whom all power is centered [a], has no other objection, I find, to granting you this favour, but that he is apprehenſive you are by no means diſpoſed to think it one. What my own ſentiments are as to that point, is too evident by my conduct, to render it neceſſary to explain them. But this however I will ſay, that altho' you ſhould prefer a ſtate of perpetual exile, rather than be a ſpectator of what you cannot but diſapprove; yet you ſhould reflect, that it is impoſſible, in any part of the world, to be placed out of the reach of his power whom you deſire to avoid. And even granting it probable that he ſhould ſuffer you to

the moral and polite arts. "And I could not forbear "thinking (added Brutus) when I took my leave of Mar-"cellus in order to return to Rome, that it was I myſelf, "and not my friend, who deſerved to be lamented as the "exile." Seneca takes occaſion from hence to introduce a ſoliloquy which he puts into the mouth of this illuſtrious exile: and he concludes it with a ſentiment that raiſes the higheſt idea both of Brutus and Marcellus. "Let con-"quered nations (he ſuppoſes Marcellus to have ſaid to "himſelf) look with wonder upon Cæſar: but live thou, "BRUTO MIRATORE CONTENTUS, ſatisfied with having "gained the admiration of Brutus!" *Senec. Conſol. ad Helvid.* 9.

[a] Cæſar.

live

A.U. 707. live free and unmoleſted in a voluntary baniſhment; yet it deſerves your conſideration, whether it would not be more eligible, whatever the ſituation of public affairs may be, to ſpend your days in Rome than at Rhodes, or Mytilene. But ſince that power which we dread, extends itſelf over every part of the globe: is it not better to live ſecurely under your own roof, than in perpetual danger under that of another? For myſelf at leaſt, if even death were my reſolution, yet I would rather chooſe to expire in my own country and in my own manſion, than at a ſtranger's houſe, and in a foreign land.

All who love you (and your illuſtrious virtues have rendered that party extremely numerous) join with me in theſe ſentiments. In this we have a regard likewiſe to the preſervation of your eſtate: which we ſhould be ſorry to ſee diſſipated. For though neither that perſon who governs the republic, nor indeed the republic itſelf, would ſuffer any injuries of this kind to remain always unredreſſed; yet I would not in the mean time have your eſtate expoſed to the depredations of certain lawleſs invaders, whom I ſhould not ſcruple to name, if I were not perſuaded that you perfectly well know to whom I allude.

Your

Your very excellent relation Caius Marcellus [1], A.U. 707. diſcovers a ſingular zeal in his frequent and earneſt applications to Cæſar on your behalf. And tho' I am not in a ſituation to ſecond theſe his ſollicitations, I claim however the next rank in my anxiety for your welfare. The truth is, I have ſtood too much in need of an advocate myſelf, to take the liberty of acting that part for another: as all the merit I can plead, is to have yielded after having been conquered [2]. Nevertheleſs, as far as my advice and endeavours can be of any avail in your affairs, they are not wanting to Caius. The reſt of your family do not think proper to conſult me: tho' they may always be aſſured of finding me ready to exert my beſt ſervices wherever your intereſt is concerned. Farewel.

[1] An account has been given of him in rem. 4. p. 322. vol. 1.

[2] See rem. 3. on the preceding letter.

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LETTER V.

TO TREBIANUS[a].

A.U. 707. I Should have written to you ſooner, if it had been either in my power to have promiſed you any effectual aſſiſtance, or neceſſary to have offered you any conſolation: one or the other being the part of every friend, in ſo unhappy a conjuncture as the preſent. But I forbore the latter, as I was informed by many hands, of the reſolute and philoſophical ſpirit with which you ſupport the unjuſt perſecution you are ſuffering from the violence of the times, and of the ſtrong conſolation you receive from the conſciouſneſs of that integrity by which all your counſels and actions towards the public were directed. If this account be true, (and let me earneſtly exhort you to verify it) you reap the happy fruits of thoſe noble contemplations, in which, I well know, you have ever been converſant. I will venture at the ſame time to aſſure you, (how unneceſſary ſoever that

[a] The perſon to whom this letter is inſcribed, is mentioned by no other antient writer: ſo that nothing more is known of him than what may be collected from this and two more epiſtles addreſſed to him in the preſent book. It appears he was at this time in exile, as having taken part againſt Cæſar in the civil war: and that he was ſoon afterwards reſtored to his country by the good offices of Dolabella.

aſſurance

aſſurance may be to a man ſo perfectly well acquainted with the preſent age, and ſo thoroughly verſed in the annals of all the paſt) that the cruel injuries under which you are oppreſſed, cannot poſſibly continue long. And this conjecture you may ſafely take from one, who if he is leſs a politician in theory perhaps than he wiſhes, is certainly much more ſo by experience than he deſires. Cæſar indeed ſeems to be every day more and more inclined to adopt thoſe equitable meaſures, which our public circumſtances require. The cauſe likewiſe for which you ſuffer is of ſuch a nature, that it muſt neceſſarily revive and flouriſh with the republic: which moſt undoubtedly cannot always remain in its preſent ſtate of ſubjection. To which I will add, that Cæſar is continually giving proofs of greater moderation and generoſity than we once imagined he would have ſhewn. But as inſtances of this kind are generally produced by particular conjunctures, and frequently too depend upon very minute circumſtances; I ſhall watch every favourable moment, and endeavour to improve it to your beſt advantage: for you may be aſſured I ſhall neglect no opportunity of aſſiſting and alleviating your misfortunes. I hope likewiſe that the time is approaching, when I ſhall be enabled to promiſe you ſome more effec- A.U. 707.

A.U. 707. tual ſervice: of which however, I had much rather give you proofs, than profeſſions. In the mean while be perſuaded, that, as far as I have been capable of obſerving, there is no man who either is, or has been, under the ſame misfortune with yourſelf, that can boaſt of ſo many zealous and faithful friends: in which number I claim the principal rank.

Let me conclude with intreating you to preſerve a firm and unbroken fortitude: for this is a poſſeſſion which depends entirely upon yourſelf. As to what is in the diſpoſal of Fortune, it muſt be governed by particular circumſtances: and I ſhall exert all my prudence to turn them in the moſt advantageous manner for your nterest. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

To Gallus[4].

I Am much ſurpriſed at your reproaches: as I am ſure they are altogether without foundation. But were they ever ſo juſt, they would

[4] Manutius conjectures, that this Gallus is the ſame with Publius Seſtius, to whom the 5th letter of the firſt book is addreſſed: whoſe family-name, he ſuppoſes (from a paſſage which he cites out of the oration for Milo) to have been *Gallus*. That learned commentator ſupports this opinion

come with a very ill grace from you, who ought A.U. 707.
to have remembered thoſe marks of diſtinction you received from me during my conſulate. It ſeems however, (for ſo you are pleaſed to inform me) that Cæſar will certainly reſtore you. I know you are never ſparing of your boaſts: but I know too, that they have the ill luck never to be credited. It is in the ſame ſpirit you remind me, that you offered yourſelf as a candidate for the tribunitial office, merely in order to ſerve me [5]. Now to ſhew you how much I am in your intereſt, I wiſh you were a tribune ſtill: as in that caſe you could not be at a loſs for an *interceſſor* [6]. You go on to reproach me, with not daring to ſpeak my ſentiments. In proof however of the contrary, I need only refer you to the reply I made, when you had the front to ſolicit my aſſiſtance.

with ſome very plauſible reaſons: but as the point in queſtion is of little conſequence, the reader will readily excuſe me that I ſave him the trouble of conſidering them. Gallus ſeems to have been in the number of the Pompeian exiles: and to have drawn upon himſelf this letter, in anſwer to one, wherein he had reproached Cicero with ingratitude, in refuſing to aſſiſt him with his good offices.

[5] Probably during Cicero's exile.

[6] Cicero's witticiſm in this paſſage, turns upon the double ſenſe of the word *interceſſor*: which beſides its general meaning, has relation likewiſe to a particular privilege annexed to the tribunitial office. For every tribune had the liberty of interpoſing his negative upon the proceedings of the ſenate: which act was called *interceſſio*, and the perſon who executed it was ſaid to be the *interceſſor* of the particular law, or other matter in deliberation.

A.U. 707. Thus, (to let you ſee how abſolutely impotent you are, where you moſt affect to appear formidable) I thought proper to anſwer you in your own ſtile. If you had made your remonſtrances in the ſpirit of good manners, I ſhould with pleaſure, as I could with eaſe, have vindicated myſelf from your charge: and in truth, it is not your conduct, but your language, that I have reaſon to reſent. I am aſtoniſhed indeed that you, of all men living, ſhould accuſe me of want of freedom, who are ſenſible it is by my means that there is any freedom left in the republic [7]. I ſay *you of all men living:* becauſe, if the informations you gave me concerning Catiline's conſpiracy, were falſe; where are the ſervices of which you remind me? If they were true, you yourſelf are the beſt judge how great thoſe obligations are which I have conferred upon every Roman in general. Farewel.

[7] Alluding to his having ſuppreſſed Catiline's conſpiracy.

LET-

LETTER VII.

To P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proquæſtor.

WHILST I was proconſul of Cilicia, (to which, you know, three Aſiatic departments [8] were annexed) there was no man with whom I entered into a ſtricter intimacy than with Andro, the ſon of Artemon, of Laodicea. I was his gueſt during my reſidence in that city: as his temper and manner of life extremely well accorded with mine. But my eſteem for him roſe ſtill higher after I left the province; having upon many ſubſequent occaſions experienced the gratitude with which he preſerved me in his remembrance. Accordingly, it was with great A.U. 707.

[8] The claſſic writers ſpeak of Aſia in three different ſenſes: which if not carefully diſtinguiſhed, are apt to create great confuſion. Sometimes they comprehend under the denomination of *Aſia*, that vaſt tract of land which made up the third part in their general diviſion of the whole globe: ſometimes they mean only ſo much of that continent which was terminated by the bay of Iſſus, and the Pontus: and ſometimes they confine it to a ſtill more limited portion, and underſtand by Aſia that kingdom which Atalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, bequeathed to the Romans: containing Myſia, Phrygia, Ionia, Lycaonia, &c. In the two former of theſe ſenſes, Cilicia was a province of Aſia: in the latter it was not. It is with reſpect therefore to this laſt diviſion, that Cicero calls the three diſtricts annexed to his government of Cilicia, *Aſiatic:* in one of which the city of Laodicea was included. *Sigon. de Jur. Provinc.* i. 10.

A.U. 707. pleaſure I lately ſaw him in Rome: as you will eaſily believe, who know by the many good offices you have yourſelf conferred upon his countrymen, how few of them are diſpoſed to be thus ſenſible of obligations. I mention theſe circumſtances to ſhew you, in the firſt place, that it is not without reaſon I intereſt myſelf in his concerns: and in the next, that his merit well entitles him to a generous reception under your roof. I ſhall be greatly indebted to you therefore for giving him a proof of the regard you bear me, by receiving him into your protection, and aſſiſting him in all his affairs: ſo far, I mean, as may be conſiſtent with your convenience and your honour. And this I moſt earneſtly requeſt, as an inſtance of your friendſhip that will be exceedingly agreeable to me. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

TO TREBIANUS.

I Am no leſs ſenſible of the ſhare you allow me in your friendſhip, than I am conſcious of that affection which I have ever entertained for you in return. Agreeably to theſe ſentiments, I always lamented that it was your choice, or rather I ſhould ſay your fate, to perſevere in our civil wars:

wars: and I how feel the ſame concern at the unjuſt delay you meet with in being reſtored to your eſtate and honours, as you have always ſhewn in my misfortunes. I have frequently and fully opened my heart upon this ſubject, not only to Poſtumulenus, to Seſtius, and to our common friend Atticus, but lately alſo to your freedman Theuda: to each of whom I have given repeated aſſurances, that it is my earneſt deſire to ſerve both you and your children to the utmoſt of my ability. I beg therefore, when you write to the latter, that you would aſſure them they may moſt readily command me upon every occaſion wherein my purſe, my pains, or my ſincere advice (for theſe at leaſt are ſtill in my power) can be of any advantage to their affairs. If I enjoyed that influence and authority in the commonwealth, to which the public ſervices I have performed moſt juſtly entitle me; you, who deſerve every honour that can be conferred, as well as are confeſſedly the firſt of that illuſtrious order to which you belong [1], ſhould retain the ſame diſtinguiſhed rank in the republic you once poſſeſſed. But ſince we both of us fell at the ſame time and in the ſame cauſe [2], I can only promiſe you what yet remains in my power: the A.U. 707.

[1] The equeſtrian.
[2] That of Pompey.

A.U. 707. ſmall aſſiſtance I mentioned above, together with that little degree of credit which I ſtill perhaps, have in ſome ſort preſerved from the general wreck of my former dignities. I have reaſon indeed from many inſtances to believe, that Cæſar is not averſe to me: and almoſt all his principal favourites, who happen to be perſons to whom I have formerly rendered very conſiderable ſervices, diſtinguiſh me with peculiar marks of their eſteem and conſideration. If therefore I ſhould find a favourable opportunity of applying to Cæſar in your behalf, (which I am more and more inclined to hope, from what I can diſcover by the converſation of theſe my friends;) I ſhall not fail very ſtrenuouſly to ſoliçit him in perſon for your reſtoration: as it is upon the obtaining of this point that the recovery of your eſtate muſt depend. It is unneceſſary to enter into particulars upon this article: let me only aſſure you in one word, that I am wholly and moſt affectionately devoted to your ſervice. But as it much imports me that all your family ſhould be appriſed of this truth; I hope your letters will acquaint them, that Trebianus may command whatever is in the power of Cicero to perform. I particularly mention this, as I am deſirous they ſhould be perſuaded,

that

that there is nothing ſo difficult which I ſhould not with pleaſure undertake, in order to render you any ſervice. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER IX.

To QUINTUS GALLIUS [a].

THO' I hope to receive many inſtances hereafter of the regard you bear me; (of which indeed you have long ſince rendered me ſufficiently ſenſible) yet there is one which at preſent occurs, wherein you may give me a very convincing proof of your friendſhip. Lucius Oppius, the ſon of Marcus, is a merchant in Philomelium [b], with whom I am extremely intimate. But beſides warmly recommending him as a man I love; I muſt likewiſe claim your kindneſs to him as he is an agent for Egnatius Rufus, a Roman knight, with whom I am moſt affectionately connected, not only by a daily intercourſe, but by many and great good offices. I beſeech you then to take the perſon of Oppius, together with the affairs of Egnatius into your protection: a requeſt which I make with as

[a] Who this perſon was, is entirely unknown. He ſeems to have been ſetting out for the government of one of the eaſtern provinces, when this letter was written.

[b] A city of Phrygia, upon the borders of Galatia.

much

A.U. 709. much zeal as if my own intereſt were concerned. Again and again therefore I intreat your compliance. I beg likewiſe that you would give two or three lines, to be preſented to you as a memorandum when you ſhall arrive in your province. But I deſire you would expreſs them in ſuch terms, as may ſtrongly remind you how very earneſtly I applied in behalf of theſe my friends. Farewel.

LETTER X.

To MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I Dare not pretend to adviſe, or to animate, a man of your diſtinguiſhed judgment and magnanimity: much leſs ſhall I attempt to ſend you any conſolation. If it be true, indeed, that you bear the ſad events which have lately happened, in the manner I am informed; I have more reaſon to congratulate your fortitude, than to ſooth your affliction. But were the fact entirely otherwiſe, and you had ſunk under the preſſure of our public misfortunes; yet I am ſo far from being qualified to alleviate your ſorrows, that I am altogether incapable of aſſuaging my own. The ſingle teſtimony, therefore, that I can give you of my friendſhip, is to convince your family

ly by my readineſs in complying with all their A.U. 703.
requeſts, that there are no ſervices ſo great which they have not reaſon to expect from me on your account.

But notwithſtanding I juſt now diſclaimed all right of ſending you my admonitions; yet I cannot forbear ſaying (and you may conſider it either as my advice, my opinion, or what my friendſhip would not ſuffer me to ſuppreſs) that I wiſh you would prevail with yourſelf to adopt the ſame meaſures which I have purſued, and return to Italy. I wiſh indeed you would be perſuaded to think, that if the republic ſhould in any degree ſubſiſt, you ought to live in it, as one who, tho' juſtly, and in the general eſtimation of the world, is deſerving of the higheſt rank, yet wiſely ſubmitted to the irreſiſtible neceſſity of the times: and if the republic ſhould be totally deſtroyed, that you would look upon Rome as the moſt proper ſcene of exile. For, tell me, my friend, if liberty be the object of our purſuit; what part of the world is exempted from the preſent dominion? or if ſome place of retirement be what we ſeek; where can we find a more eligible retreat, than in our native country? And, believe me, he who holds the ſupreme power, is not only a friend to genius and literature, but diſ-

A.U. 707. diſpoſed, as far as the circumſtances and ſituation of his affairs will permit, to pay a particular regard to thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by their birth [3] and dignities. But this is going farther than I intended. To return therefore to the ſingle purpoſe of my letter: let me aſſure you that I am wholly yours, and ready to co-operate with your relations in every inſtance wherein they ſhall approve themſelves ſuch [4]. But if they ſhould not; you may depend at leaſt upon my acting upon all occaſions agreeably to our friendſhip. Farewel.

[3] The family of Marcellus was one of the nobleſt in Rome. See rem. 3. p. 320. vol. i.

[4] It appears from this and other paſſages in theſe letters, that ſome part of Marcellus's family diſcovered leſs warmth in promoting his welfare, than ſeems to have been due to the merit of ſo illuſtrious a relation.

LET-

LETTER XI.

To Papirius Pætus.

I Received a letter from you ſome time ſince by your courier Phileros, as alſo another three days ago by the hands of Zethus: both which I will now anſwer. It was with much ſatisfaction I found by the former, that you were extremely ſenſible of the concern I expreſſed for your health. Believe me, however, a letter could but faintly repreſent the uneaſineſs I ſuffered upon that account. For tho' I cannot but acknowledge, that there are many from whom I receive great marks of eſteem and affection; yet there is not one in that number whom I prefer to yourſelf. It is a very great, perhaps I might ſay a principal inducement for my holding you in this rank, that you have long diſtinguiſhed me with an unvaried friendſhip: yet this is a circumſtance which you ſhare in common with many others. But your amiable diſpoſition, and thoſe agreeable qualities of every kind which you poſſeſs, are claims to my heart in which you are without a rival. To theſe I muſt add, I will not call it the Attic, but (what is far more ſpirited) the true old Roman wit, which ſo elegantly enli- A.U. 707.

vens

A.U. 707. vens your converſation. I will not ſcruple indeed to acknowledge, (whatever you may think of me from the confeſſion) that I am wonderfully delighted with humour; eſpecially with that ſort which is of our own domeſtic growth. I eſteem this latter kind ſo much the more, as it is now become extremely uncommon: for by the admiſſion ſome years ſince of the Latians [5] into Rome, and lately even of the Gauls [6] themſelves, our native humour has been tainted with the infuſion of foreign cant, and is almoſt entirely extinct [7].

[5] The inhabitants of Latium: a part of Italy which is now called the *Campagna di Roma*. They obtained the honour and advantage of being made free of Rome, towards the cloſe of the Italic war, A. U. 664. See rem. 2. p. 77. of vol. i. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 226.

[6] Cæſar in the wantonneſs of his power, had lately admitted ſeveral of the Gauls into the privileges of Roman citizens: and had even introduced ſome of them to a ſeat in the ſenate. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76.

[7] It is difficult, if not altogether impoſſible, to determine with any preciſion, what it was that diſtinguiſhed the ſpirit of this true old Roman wit and humour which Cicero here repreſents as almoſt entirely extinct. But in general, as far as can be collected from other parts of our author's writings, it ſeems to have conſiſted in what they call *Urbanity*: a term however which they themſelves did not well know how to explain. For when Brutus in the dialogue concerning the moſt celebrated orators, inquires, *Qui eſt iſte tandem urbanitatis color?* Cicero replies, *Neſcio: tantum eſſe quandam ſcio.* Nevertheleſs, it appears by what he immediately ſubjoins, to have reſulted from a certain refinement of expreſſion and elegancy of pronunciation, which was to be found only amongſt the moſt polite and cultivated natives of Rome. Perhaps, therefore, it was this inexplicable grace of language and utterance that was infected by the admiſſion

For

For this reaſon, whenever I converſe with you, I imagine myſelf tranſported back into former times, and to be talking with the Granii, the Lucilii, or in truth even with the Craſſi and the Lælii of old [g]. There is not a ſingle perſon indeed, except yourſelf, in whom I can diſcover the leaſt vein of that original ſpirit which ſo agreeably diſtinguiſhed the pleaſantry of our fore-fathers. But ſince to theſe uncommon charms of wit, you add the attractions likewiſe of ſo ſingular a A.U. 707.

of theſe ſtrangers into Rome: who probably had introduced among the little pretenders to wit and humour, a foreign tone of voice, together with an exotic turn of phraſeology. A prevailing faſhion of this kind, would neceſſarily extinguiſh that ſpirit which ſeaſoned the old Roman pleaſantry with a *neſcio quo ſapore vernaculo* (as Cicero ſomewhere calls it) a certain exquiſite taſte and flavour peculiar to its native ſoil. *Vide Cic. de Clar. Orator.* 170. *et ſeq.*

[g] The ſeveral perſons here mentioned were celebrated wits, who flouriſhed about the time that Cicero was born, that is, in the conſulate of C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, U. C. 647. The reader has already had ſome account of *Lælius* in num. 5. p. 4. vol. 1. *Craſſus* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed orator of his times: and ſignaliſed his eloquence when he was only twenty-one years of age, at the trial of C. Carbo, who was concerned in the diſturbances which were raiſed by the Gracchi. Lucilius was a Roman knight, and great uncle to Pompey. He conſiderably improved upon that kind of ſatyrical poetry, which received its utmoſt perfection in the following century from the hands of Horace. Some fragments of his writings ſtill remain. *Granius* was a perſon of low rank; being only a præco, or ſort of cryer in the courts of juſtice. Cicero however, has immortaliſed his memory by the frequent encomiums he paſſes upon the ſingular elegance and pleaſantry of his wit and humour. *Cic. de Clar. Orat.* 158, 159, *&c. Dac. Præf. ſur les Sat. d'Horace* v. 10.

friend-

A.U. 707. friendſhip towards myſelf; can you wonder that I was greatly alarmed at your late very dangerous indiſpoſition?

As to your other letter, in which you acquit yourſelf of all intention to diſſuade me from my Neapolitan purchaſe [a], and the aſſurance you give me that you only meant to adviſe my continuance in Rome; I underſtood you in no other ſenſe. But I ſuppoſe (and your letter now before me confirms the ſuppoſition) that you did not agree with me in thinking I might be juſtified, I will not ſay in wholly renouncing, but in ſeldom taking a part in public affairs. With this view I imagine it was, that you reminded me of thoſe times in which Catulus acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a part [b]. But tell me, my friend, what reſem-

[a] See the laſt paragraph in p. 262. of this vol.

[b] Q. L. Catulus was conſul in the year 675, and died about the year 693: during which period he had many opportunities of exerting his patriotiſm, by riſing up againſt the gradual encroachments of Pompey and Cæſar upon the public liberty. Thus he oppoſed with a ſpirit worthy the beſt times of antient Rome, that unlimited and unconſtitutional commiſſion, which was granted to Pompey under a pretence of the piratic war: and rendered himſelf ſo glorioufly obnoxious to Cæſar, that the latter endeavoured, tho' unſucceſsfully, to blaſt his well-eſtabliſhed credit by an impeachment for embezzling the public treaſure. In ſhort, the welfare of his country was the great and conſtant object of his unwearied labours: in which he perſevered with a zeal and reſolution which no fears or hopes could ſhake; and which Cato, of all his contemporaries ſeems alone to have equalled. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 279. *Dio.* xxxvi. p. 18. 49. 50. *Orat. pro Sext.* 47.

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blance is there between thoſe days and the preſent? A.U. 707.
I was at that period far from being inclined to abſent myſelf from the care of the republic: as I then ſate at the helm of the commonwealth, and ſhared in the direction of its moſt important motions [10]. But now I can ſcarce claim the privilege to officiate even in the loweſt functions of the ſtate. Were I to reſide therefore altogether at Naples, would there be a ſingle decree of the ſenate the leſs by my abſence? On the contrary, tho' I live in Rome, and appear publicly in the forum, they are ſettled by our friend [11] in his own houſe, entirely without my participation. If I happen, however, to occur to his memory, he ſometimes does me the honour to prefix my name [12]. Accordingly I am often informed from Syria and Armenia, that a decree of the ſenate is publiſhed in thoſe provinces, and publiſhed too as made on my motion, of which I had never heard the leaſt mention before. You will ſuſpect, perhaps, that I am not ſerious: but be aſſured I ſpeak the literal truth. I have at this inſtant

[10] The conſulate of Cicero fell within the period mentioned in the preceding remark: that is, in the year 690.

[11] Cæſar.

[12] It was uſual in drawing up the decrees of the ſenate, to prefix the names of thoſe ſenators who were principally concerned in promoting them.

A.U. 707. letters in my poſſeſſion from the remoteſt potentates of the globe, returning me thanks for having procured them an acknowledgment of their regal title from the ſenate [13]: when I was ſo far from knowing they were honoured with that appellation, that I was utterly ignorant there were any ſuch perſons exiſting. Nevertheleſs, as long as this *ſuper-intendant of our manners* [14] ſhall continue in Rome, I will comply with your advice: but the moment he leaves us [15], I ſhall certainly

[13] It was the ambition of foreign princes to obtain an acknowledgment of their regal title from the ſenate, and to be declared friends and allies of the republic: an honour which in the more regular times of the Roman government, was but rarely granted, and only in conſideration of ſome ſignal ſervices. But in that general corruption which preceded the ruin of the commonwealth, this honour became venal: as it ſupplied a very plentiful ſtream of wealth to thoſe leading men in the ſtate, who were not aſhamed to proſtitute the moſt ſacred privileges to their inſatiable avarice. Cæſar in particular, drew immenſe riches from this ſingle ſource: a ſtrong inſtance of which has already been produced in rem. 2. p. 51. vol. i. *Cæſ. Bel. Gal.* i. 43. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 54.

[14] This title had lately been decreed to Cæſar, by which he was inveſted with all the power of the cenſorial office, without the name. It does not appear for what reaſon he choſe this appellation rather than that of cenſor. Some have ſuppoſed that it was from an affectation of modeſty: but they who aſſign this reaſon ſeem to forget, that Cæſar did not bluſh to be aſſociated with the gods in the public worſhip of his degenerate Romans. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76. *Appian. Bel. Civil.* iii. p. 494.

[15] Cæſar was at this time preparing to ſet out upon his expedition againſt the two ſons of Pompey, who had aſſembled a very conſiderable army in Spain.

ſet

ſet out to join you over a plate of muſhrooms [16]. A.U. 707.
If I can procure a houſe at Naples, it is my purpoſe, you muſt know, to live ſo abſtemiouſly that what our late ſumptuary law [17] allows for one day's expence, ſhall ſuffice me for ten. But if I cannot meet with one to my ſatisfaction, I intend to be your gueſt: and I am ſure it is not in my power to oblige you more.

Tho' I mentioned in my laſt, that I almoſt deſpaired of Sylla's houſe; yet I have not abſolutely given up all thoughts of that purchaſe. Agreeably therefore to your offer, I beg you would take ſome workmen with you in order to ſurvey it: for if the walls and roof are in a good repair, I ſhall perfectly well approve of all the reſt. Farewel.

[16] This diſh was in great eſteem among the Romans.

[17] This law was enacted by Cæſar ſoon after his return from the African war. It regulated the expences of the Romans, not only with regard to their tables, but alſo their dreſs, equipage, furniture, and buildings. But Cæſar ſeems to have found it a much eaſier taſk to corrupt, than to reform: for though he was very deſirous of enforcing this ſalutary law; yet it appears to have been extremely ill obſerved. *Suet. in Jul.* 43. *Ad At.* xiii. 7.

LETTER XII.

To Trebonius.

A.U. 707. THO' I had always a great affection for Dolabella, yet I never received any favour from him till now. Indeed, he never before had an opportunity of repaying thoſe good offices he owed me, for having more than once ſtood forth in his defence. But his late zeal in protecting your eſtate, together with his preſent aſſiſtance in promoting your reſtoration, have ſo abundantly ſatisfied every claim I have to his ſervices, that there is no man to whom I think myſelf more ſtrongly obliged. I take ſo ſincere a part with you in the joy of this event, that inſtead of your thanks, I expect your congratulations. The former indeed I by no means deſire: but the latter you may with great propriety ſend me.

Since your diſtinguiſhed merit has thus removed all obſtructions to your return; it will be agreeable to your good-ſenſe and greatneſs of mind, to forget all that you have loſt, and reflect only on the advantages you have recovered. You will remember then, that you are reſtored to your family

family and to your friends; and that whatever you have ſuffered in your eſtate, is conſiderably over-ballanced by the glory you have acquired: which I am perſuaded would be ſtill more acceptable to you, if the republic had in any degree ſubſiſted. A.U. 707.

I have received a letter from my friend Veſtorius, wherein he informs me of the grateful mention you make of my ſervices. I am extremely obliged to you for your profeſſions of this kind in general, but particularly for thoſe you expreſſed to our friend Syro [a]: as I am greatly deſirous to approve my conduct upon all occaſions to every ſenſible and judicious man. —I hope to ſee you very ſoon. Farewel.

[a] A celebrated Epicurean philoſopher, who is ſaid to have been Virgil's preceptor.

LETTER XIII.

TO MARCUS BRUTUS [1].

A.U. 707. I Am perſuaded that your quæſtor Marcus Varro [2], who is ſetting out to attend you, needs no recommendation to your favour: for I doubt

[1] Marcus Brutus was nephew to Cato: whoſe virtues he had the juſt ambition to copy. He ſeems however in ſome points to have fallen ſhort of the model he propoſed to imitate: as he by no means acted up to that inflexible uniformity of conduct, which renders the character of Cato ſo glorioufly ſingular. Thus, tho' Brutus at the battle of Pharſalia engaged on the ſide of Pompey; yet immediately after the unſucceſsful event of that action, he not only made his peace with Cæſar, but was willing to contribute to the ruin of that cauſe in which he had ſo lately engaged. For when Cæſar was doubtful what route Pompey had taken in his flight; it was by the advice and information of Brutus that he followed him into Egypt. Cæſar, juſt before he ſet out for Africa, appointed Brutus governor of Ciſalpline Gaul: which he adminiſtered with great moderation and integrity. It was during his reſidence in this province that the preſent and following letters addreſſed to him in this book, appear to have been written. *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

[2] Some of the commentators have ſuppoſed, that this is the celebrated Marcus Terentius Varro, to whom ſeveral letters in the preceding book are addreſſed. But Cellarius has juſtly obſerved, that the age and dignity of that illuſtrious Roman, render it highly improbable he ſhould at this time have been quæſtor to Brutus, who was a much younger man than himſelf. Perhaps the perſon recommended in this letter, is the ſame whom Horace mentions as an unſucceſsful adventurer in ſatyric poetry:

Hoc erat, experto fruſtra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibuſdam aliis, melius quod ſcribere poſſem.

Sat. x. lib. i. 46.

not,

not, that in conformity to the maxims of our forefathers, you look upon his office as giving him a ſufficient title to your regard. And I need not tell you, that it was the policy of antient times to conſider the relation between a proconſul and his quæſtor, as next to that of a father and ſon. However as Varro imagines that a letter from me will have great weight, and has preſſed me to write to you in the ſtrongeſt terms; I willingly perform an office which he believes will prove ſo much to his advantage. That you may be ſenſible I ought not to refuſe this requeſt, I muſt inform you, that he cultivated my friendſhip from his firſt appearance in the forum; as in his more mature years two circumſtances concurred, which extremely encreaſed the affection I had conceived for him: the one, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as you well know, with great genius and application in that perſuaſive art, in which I ſtill take particular pleaſure; the other, that he early became a member of the ſociety for farming the public revenues. I wiſh A.U. 707

For the commentators upon theſe lines inform us, that the poet here ſpoken of was Terentius Varro, a native of the city of *Atax* in the Narbonenſian Gaul, from which he was called *Atacinus*, and who was born in the year of Rome 673. He muſt conſequently in the preſent year have been thirty-four: which perfectly well coincides with the age one may juſtly ſuppoſe the perſon to have been, in whoſe favour this letter is written.

A.U. 707. indeed, that he had never embarked in their concerns: as he has been a conſiderable ſufferer by his engagements of this ſort. However, his union with a company for whoſe intereſts I have ſo great a regard, was one means of more ſtrongly cementing our friendſhip. After having acted with the higheſt integrity and applauſe both as an advocate and a judge, he turned his ambition (long indeed before this revolution in the commonwealth had taken place) upon obtaining ſome employment in the magiſtracy: and he eſteemed the honours of this kind which his country ſhould confer upon him, as the nobleſt reward of all his former ſervices. During my late reſidence at Brundiſium [3], he obligingly charged himſelf with carrying a letter and a meſſage from me, to Cæſar: and he gave me a very ſtrong proof of his affection, in the zeal and fidelity with which he undertook and executed this generous commiſſion.

I purpoſed, after having thus aſſigned the reaſons which induce me to give Varro my friendſhip, to have particularly pointed out the virtues of his heart: but I think I muſt have ſufficiently rendered you ſenſible of theſe, by declaring upon what motives he has ſo ſtrongly engaged my af-

[3] Cicero upon his return into Italy after the battle of Pharſalia, reſided at Brundiſium till Cæſar's arrival.

fection.

fection. Nevertheleſs, I will here in a more di- A.U. 707.
ſtinct and explicit manner aſſure you, that you will receive much ſatisfaction and advantage from the company and aſſiſtance of my friend. You will find him, indeed, to be a man of ſingular modeſty and good-ſenſe, as well as of indefatigable application to buſineſs; at the ſame time that he is an entire ſtranger to immoderate deſires of every kind. I know not whether I ought to promiſe thus far in his behalf; as his character, after all, muſt be referred to your own experience. But in forming new connections of every ſort, it is of much importance in what manner the firſt approaches are made, and by whoſe hands the avenues of friendſhip (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) are laid open. It is this office that I have here undertaken: and tho' the employment in which Varro ſtands related to you, may well render my ſervices unneceſſary; yet they certainly cannot render them prejudicial. If then I poſſeſs that ſhare in your eſteem which Varro imagines, and which I myſelf am perſuaded I enjoy; let me ſoon have the ſatisfaction of hearing that my friend has received all the advantages from this letter, that are agreeable to his own hopes, and to my firm expectations. Farewel.

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LETTER XIV.

To LIGARIUS [4].

A.U. 707. THO' agreeably to the friendſhip which ſubſiſts between us, I ought to have offered you either aſſiſtance or conſolation, under your misfortunes; yet I have hitherto forborne writing, in the belief that it was not in the power of mere words to remove or alleviate your afflictions. But as I have now reaſon to entertain the ſtrongeſt hopes of ſhortly ſeeing you reſtored to your country, I cannot any longer omit to acquaint you with my ſentiments and inclination concerning your affairs. In the firſt place then, I am well convinced that you will by no means find Cæſar inexorable. The ſituation of public circumſtances; a regard to his character in the world; length of time; together with what appears to me to be his natural temper; theſe all concur to ſoften his reſentment every day more

[4] Quintus Ligarius was lieutenant to C. Conſidius, proconſul of Africa, in the year 703: in which poſt he gained the general eſteem of the whole province. Accordingly at their unanimous requeſt, Conſidius upon his departure from Rome, reſigned the adminiſtration into the hands of Ligarius. During his reſidence in that ſtation, the civil war broke out: and he was at this time ſuffering exile for having acted upon that occaſion on the ſide of Pompey. *Orat. pro. Ligar.* i. *See rem.* i. *p.* 366. *of this vol.*

and

and more. This, I imagine, will appear to be his A.U. 707.
diſpoſition towards all in general who have offended him: but that it is particularly ſo with reſpect to yourſelf, I will aſſure you upon the authority of his moſt intimate friends. I have never ceaſed to ſolicit them in your behalf ever ſince we received the firſt news from Africa[5]: and your brothers have with equal aſſiduity joined me in theſe applications. Their virtues indeed, together with that affectionate and unwearied zeal with which they enter into your cauſe, are ſo extremely engaging, that I am perſuaded even Cæſar himſelf cannot refuſe any thing to their requeſts[6]. But if we do not advance with all the expedition we wiſh, it muſt be imputed to thoſe numberleſs and important occupations which render Cæſar difficult of acceſs: as it is to him alone that every ſuit is now preferred. To this I muſt add, that as he was particularly incenſed by the late war fomented againſt him in Africa; he was inclined to keep thoſe ſo much longer in ſuſpence concerning their fate, to whom he imagines it was owing that he had ſo many ad-

[5] Concerning Cæſar's victory over Scipio.

[6] The two brothers of Ligarius ſeem to have ſtood neuters in the civil war. But one of them had ſomething more than a mere negative merit to plead: as he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf during his quæſtorſhip by promoting the honours and intereſt of Cæſar. *Orat. pro Ligar.* 12.

ditional

A.U. 707. ditional difficulties to encounter. But his reſentment even upon this article alſo, appears evidently to be cooling: and I deſire you would both believe and remember the aſſurance I here give you, that you will ſoon be removed from your preſent uneaſy ſituation.

Having thus acquainted you with my ſentiments of your affairs, I had rather leave it to my actions than profeſſions, to declare, how much I wiſh to aſſiſt you in them. Let me aſſure you, however, if I poſſeſſed that influence in the commonwealth, which, you are pleaſed to think, I have merited by my ſervices; you ſhould have no reaſon to regret your preſent circumſtances. But alas! the ſame cauſe for which you are ſuffering in your perſon, has impaired me in my credit. But whatever remains to me of my former authority; whatever ſhadow ſtill attends me of that dignity I once enjoyed; in a word, as far as my advice, my aſſiſtance, or my intereſt can avail, they ſhall upon all occaſions be faithfully employed in ſeconding the pious zeal of your excellent brothers. In the mean time, preſerve that manly compoſure of mind which you have always poſſeſſed. You ought to do ſo indeed, in the firſt place, for the reaſons I have already aſſigned; and in the next, becauſe your public conduct has ever been ſuch as to afford you a juſt ground to entertain

tain the moſt favourable hopes. But were your A.U. 707.
proſpect entirely the reverſe, yet a conſciouſneſs of the integrity of all your counſels and actions with regard to the commonwealth, ſhould enable you to ſupport the worſt that can happen with a firm and unſhaken fortitude. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

To Marcus Brutus.

I Have always had the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that you were particularly inquiſitive into every circumſtance relating to me. I doubt not therefore of your being appriſed, not only that Arpinum is the place of my nativity, but that upon all occaſions I zealouſly patroniſe the intereſts of this city. The whole of their revenues for religious purpoſes, as alſo for the repairs of their temples and other public buildings, ariſes entirely from their eſtates in Gaul. Accordingly we have diſpatched Quintus Fufidius, Marcus Faucius, and Quintus Mamercus, each of them perſons of equeſtrian rank, in order to collect the rents, and to inſpect our affairs in that province. I therefore recommend them to your particular protection; intreating you by our mutual friendſhip, to aſſiſt them in the

A.U. 707. the ſpeedy and ſucceſsful diſcharge of their commiſſion, and to diſtinguiſh their perſons, agreeably to your uſual politeneſs, with every poſſible mark of honour. You will by theſe means add three very worthy men to the number of your friends, as well as oblige a community extremely ſenſible of the good offices they receive. Let me add too, you will perform a ſervice highly acceptable alſo to myſelf: who, as I have at all times ſtood forth the patron of the Arpinates, am in a more eſpecial manner engaged to take their intereſts under my protection during the preſent year. For in order to the better government of this corporation, I have procured my ſon and nephew, together with my friend Mareus Cæſius, to be choſen ædiles: the only magiſtrates which our city admits. It will be much therefore, to the credit of their adminiſtration, as well as a particular honour to myſelf, if the affairs of this community during their office, ſhould by the aſſiſtance of your generous ſervices be placed in a more advantageous poſture. For which purpoſe I muſt again moſt earneſtly conjure you to comply with my preſent requeſt. Farewel.

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LETTER XVI.

To the Same.

I Have in a ſeparate letter recommended to you, with all poſſible warmth, the commiſſaries appointed by the city of Arpinum. But I ſhall here ſingle out one of them in particular; and deſire your peculiar regards to Q. Fufidius: a perſon with whom I am united by every friendly tie. I do not mean, however, by thus diſtinguiſhing him from the reſt, to leſſen the weight of my general recommendation; but only to add this as a ſort of ſupplement to what I have there requeſted. Fufidius, who is ſon-in-law to my particular friend Marcus Cæſius, acted under me in Cilicia in quality of military tribune: and he acquitted himſelf ſo much to my ſatisfaction, that I had reaſon to think I received a favour, inſtead of beſtowing one, when I nominated him to that employment. To this I muſt add, what I know will conſiderably raiſe him in your eſteem, that he has a taſte and genius for our favourite ſtudies. Let me entreat you then to receive my friend with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of your politeneſs, and to aſſiſt him in the more effectual diſcharge of an office which he accepted merely A.U. 707.

A.U. 707. in compliance with my perſuaſions, and contrary to his own convenience. But as it is the ambition of every man of a generous mind, to be approved in all his actions; Fufidius is deſirous of executing this commiſſion in ſuch a manner as to merit, not only my applauſe in particular who engaged him to undertake it, but that likewiſe of our whole community in general. Now this he will undoubtedly receive, if my recommendation ſhould procure him your friendly offices. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

To SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

THE excuſe you alledge for ſo frequently ſending me duplicates of your letters, I very readily admit: ſo far, I mean, as it relates to your caution of guarding againſt the negligence, or treachery, of thoſe who undertake to deliver them. But when you add, that a poverty of genius likewiſe (to uſe your own expreſſion) obliges you to this continual repetition; it is an apology I can neither approve nor allow. On the contrary, I who am enriched, as you ironically tell me, (for in that ſenſe I underſtand your compliment) with all the treaſures of eloquence; and

and who in good earneſt, do not think myſelf wholly deſtitute of them; even I am far from pretending to equal the delicacy and elegance of your compoſitions. A.U. 707

I always approved of your having accepted the government of Achaia: but much more ſo, after I had read your laſt letter. The ſeveral reaſons you mention are every one of them perfectly juſt, and altogether worthy of that prudence and dignity which diſtinguiſhes your character. But I can by no means agree with you in thinking, that this affair has proved ſo different from what you expected as to give you juſt occaſion to condemn the ſtep you have taken. The truth of it is, the dreadful confuſion and deſolation which this deteſtable civil war has univerſally ſpread, inclines every man to imagine that both himſelf, and the ſcene in which he happens to be placed, are of all others the moſt completely miſerable. Hence it is that you repent of the choice you have made, and look upon us as much happier who remain at Rome: whereas we, on the contrary, tho' we do not ſuppoſe your ſituation is wholly without its inconveniencies, yet think it greatly preferable to our own. In one reſpect I am ſure it is ſo; as you have at leaſt the happineſs of daring to write your complaints: which is more than we can do with

A.U. 707. any ſafety. This, however, is not to be imputed to the conqueror; who conducts himſelf, it muſt be acknowledged, with the utmoſt moderation: but is entirely owing to that general ſpirit of inſolence, which victory, in all civil wars, never fails to inſpire. The ſingle point in which our ſituation can pretend to have had the advantage of yours, is, that it gave us the ſatisfaction not only of knowing ſomewhat earlier than you could, that your collegue Marcellus [7] has obtained his pardon; but of being witneſſes in what manner that whole affair was conducted. For be aſſured it is the only honourable tranſaction, of a public nature, that has paſſed amongſt us ſince the breaking out of this calamitous civil war. Cæſar, after having complained of the *acrimony* (as he called it) with which Marcellus had oppoſed him, and mentioned with the higheſt applauſe the equity and prudence of your conduct in the ſame conjuncture [8]; on a ſudden, and much beyond our expectations, declared, that notwithſtanding he had ſo much reaſon to complain of Marcellus, he could not refuſe to pardon him at the general requeſt of the ſenate. For I ſhould have told you, that as ſoon as Lucius Piſo had

[7] Sulpicius and Marcellus were collegues in the office of conſul. An. Urb. 702.

[8] That is, during the conſulate of Sulpicius and Marcellus. See an account of his conduct at this critical period, in rem. 2, p. 120 of this vol.

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mentioned in the ſenate the affair of Marcellus, A.U. 707.
and his relation Caius Marcellus had thrown himſelf at Cæſar's feet; the whole houſe unanimouſly roſe up, and approaching towards Cæſar, joined in one common interceſſion. In ſhort, there was ſomething ſo truly glorious in the tranſaction of that day, that I could not but look upon it as a ſort of ſymptom that the republic was again reviving. All the ſenators who had been aſked [9] their opinion before me, ſeverally returned their acknowledgments to Cæſar, except Volcatius [10]: who declared that he would not have made them, even if he had been in the place of Marcellus himſelf. But when it came to my turn, I inſtantly changed a reſolution

[9] When a queſtion was moved in the ſenate, the method of debating upon it was, that the conſul after having delivered his own opinion, proceeded to aſk the opinions of all the other ſenators ſeverally by name, and in their proper order; beginning always with the conſulars, and going on to the prætorians, &c. *Mid. on the R. S. p.* 150.

[10] Probably the perſon here mentioned, is Lucius Volcatius Tullus, who was conſul in the year 687. The noble ſpirit which he ſhewed upon this occaſion, in ſcorning to thank Cæſar for what the uſurper ought to have had no power to beſtow, was worthy of the beſt ages of the republic: and tho' Cicero ſpeaks of it without the leaſt approbation, it was the only circumſtance in this buſineſs that merited his applauſe. For muſt it not have affected a true patriot with the utmoſt concern and indignation, to ſee the Roman ſenate, that auguſt council of the whole world (as Cicero himſelf has ſomewhere called it) humbly ſupplicating at the feet of Cæſar for the reſtoration of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of the commonwealth?

A.U. 707. which I had long formed. I had determined, not from indolence, believe me, but as being ſenſible of the want of that authority which once attended my eloquence, to preſerve a perpetual ſilence in public. But the greatneſs of mind which Cæſar diſcovered upon this occaſion, together with that noble zeal which broke forth at the ſame time in the ſenate, entirely overcame the ſtrength of my reſolution: and I addreſſed my acknowledgments to Cæſar in a long harangue [11]. This, I fear, may prove the occaſion in other inſtances of drawing me out from that literary retirement, which affords the ſingle conſolation I receive under our general misfortunes. Nevertheleſs, ſince I have by this mean avoided giving Cæſar offence, who perhaps would have interpreted my ſilence into a proof that I conſidered the republic as no longer ſubſiſting; I ſhall now and then reſume this practice: I ſhall reſume it, however, extremely ſeldom, and only juſt enough to comply with his inclinations, without interrupting my philoſophical ſtudies. For tho' I was early devoted to all the liberal arts and ſciences, and particularly to philoſophy;

[11] This ſpeech is ſtill extant: and perhaps it is one of the nobleſt monuments that remains, of the grace and energy of antient eloquence. It abounds with the moſt ſpirited and beſt turned compliments, that wit ever paid to power: for which the ſevereſt patriotiſm could ſcarce condemn Cicero, as they all artfully tend to induce Cæſar to reſtore the republic.

yet I find my paſſion for her growing ſtill ſtronger upon me every day I live: perhaps it is becauſe age has rendered me more mature for the leſſons of wiſdom, and that the miſery of the times have deprived me of every other relief. I perceive by your letters that you are called off by numberleſs occupations from ſtudies of this kind: I hope however, that the long nights will now afford you ſome leiſure to reſume them. A.U. 707.

Your ſon (and let me call him alſo mine) diſtinguiſhes me with great marks of his conſideration: as in return I admire him not only for his probity and virtue, but for his learning and genius. He frequently confers with me in relation to your reſigning, or continuing in, your government: and I ſtill remain in the ſame opinion, that we ſhould neither of us take any meaſures but ſuch as ſhall be perfectly agreeable to Cæſar. Affairs are ſo ſituated at Rome, that you could find no other ſatisfaction in being here, than what would ariſe from enjoying the company of your friends and family. For tho' Cæſar's conduct is unexceptionable; yet with reſpect to all the reſt, both of perſons and circumſtances, I am ſure you would much rather (if one or other muſt neceſſarily be your choice) receive an account of them from others, than be a ſpectator of them yourſelf. When I ſay this, it is in pre-

A.U. 707. ference of *your* intereſt to my own: as upon all other conſiderations I am extremely deſirous of ſeeing you amongſt us. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

To MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUcius Caſtronius Pætus, is by far the moſt conſiderable perſon in the city of Lucca; but not more diſtinguiſhed however by his birth and rank, than by the ſolidity of his underſtanding, and the friendlineſs of his diſpoſition. In one word, he is in every reſpect a moſt worthy man. I might add too (if it were of any importance to his character) that he is not only conſpicuous for his eminent virtues, but for his affluent fortunes. I converſe with him upon terms of the moſt unreſerved intimacy: and indeed there is no man of ſenatorian rank whom he treats with greater marks of eſteem. I therefore recommend him to you, not only as *my* friend, but as worthy of being *yours*. And I am very ſure, that whatever ſervice you ſhall render him, will afford a ſatisfaction to yourſelf, as well as confer an obligation upon me. Farewel.

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LETTER XIX.

To MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I Sent you a long letter [1] a very few days ago by Quintus Mucius; wherein I fully explained my ſentiments with reſpect to the diſpoſition and conduct, which I thought would become you in the preſent conjuncture. Nevertheleſs, as your freedman Theophilus (of whoſe faithful affection towards you I have been a witneſs) is ſetting out for Greece; I was unwilling he ſhould wait upon you without bringing a letter from me. A.U. 707.

To repeat what I urged in my laſt; let me again moſt earneſtly exhort you, whatever the form of our government be, to return to Rome as ſoon as poſſible. 'Tis true you will have the mortification, perhaps, to ſee many things that will give you pain: but not more, however, than you every day learn from common report. Now it would be unworthy a man of your character, to be affected only with what paſſes before his view: when he can hear the very ſame facts related, (and probably magnified too) with leſs

[1] This letter is not extant: but it probably contained an account of what had paſſed in the ſenate, concerning the reſtoration of Marcellus. See p. 338. of this vol.

A.U. 707. concern—But you will tell me, perhaps, that ſhould you return to Rome, you muſt ſubmit either to act or to ſpeak in contradiction to the ſentiments of your heart. In anſwer to which, I muſt obſerve in the firſt place, that it has ever been deemed the part of true wiſdom, to yield to the circumſtances of the times; or, to expreſs the ſame thing in other words, to comply with unavoidable neceſſity: and in the next place, that as matters now ſtand, the conſtraint you fear is in no ſort among the number of our preſent grievances. 'Tis poſſible indeed that you may not be at liberty openly to declare your opinions: but totally ſilent you may undoubtedly be. For the ſole cognizance of all affairs, is centered in a ſingle perſon [3]: and he determines as ſeems good to himſelf, without conſulting any of his party. And this would have been pretty much the caſe, had that other chief [4] whoſe cauſe we choſe to follow, been now in poſſeſſion of the commonwealth. For at a time when we were all embarked with him in the ſame common danger, he admitted none into his council, but thoſe that were ill qualified to be his adviſers. And can it be ſuppoſed, that he would have placed himſelf

[3] Cæſar.
[4] Pompey.

more

more upon a level with us after victory, than when his ſucceſs was altogether doubtful? Is it to be imagined, that he who rejected thoſe moſt prudent meaſures you recommended in your conſulate, and refuſed likewiſe to follow the concurrent ſentiments of you and your relation [5] who ſucceeded you in that office, and adminiſtered it by your counſels —— is it to be imagined that ſuch a man, were he now at the head of the commonwealth, would conſult either your opinion or mine? All civil wars abound with numberleſs calamities: a truth, which tho' our anceſtors were ſo happy as never once to have experienced; the preſent generation too frequently has [6]. But amidſt its many miſerable conſequences, none is more juſtly to be dreaded than victory itſelf. For tho' it ſhould turn on the more meritorious ſide; yet it will be apt to inſpire even theſe with a ſpirit of inſolence and cruelty: and if they ſhould not be ſo by inclination; they at leaſt will by neceſſity. For in many inſtances the victor muſt find himſelf conſtrained to comply with the will of thoſe who aſſiſted him in his conqueſt. Tell me, my friend, did we not both foreſee what cruelties would have been A.U. 707.

[5] Caius Marcellus.

[6] The firſt civil war, in the ſtrict acceptation of that term, which Rome had ever ſeen, was between Marius and Sylla: about forty-two years before the date of this letter.

ex-

A.U. 707. exerciſed, if our party had proved ſucceſsful? And would you in that caſe have lived an exile from your country, that you might not have been a ſpectator of ſo ſad a ſcene? I know you will reply in the negative: and will aſſure me, that you ſhould then have remained in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of your eſtate and honours. Yet certainly it would have become a man of your patriot ſpirit, to have been far leſs concerned for his own intereſt, than for that of the republic.

But to what purpoſe, let me farther aſk, ſhould you perſevere in baniſhing yourſelf from Rome? Hitherto, indeed, the world has approved your conduct, in having entered into the civil war with reluctance, and in having wiſely declined puſhing it to its laſt deſperate extremity. The world admires too your good fortune (as it may juſtly be called, conſidering the diſtracted ſtate of the times) in having been able to maintain your dignity and reputation in an honourable retreat. But the time is now arrived, when you ought to think no place more deſirable than your native country. If ſhe appears leſs beautiful than formerly; this circumſtance ſhould not diminiſh your affection, but rather raiſe your compaſſion: and as there are ſo many illuſtrious citizens whoſe loſs ſhe deplores, you ſhould ſpare her the addi-

tional ſorrow of being deprived likewiſe of you. A.U. 707.
If you diſcovered a true greatneſs of ſpirit in ſcorning to be the ſuppliant of Cæſar's power; may you not betray too much pride in contemning the offers of his clemency? And if you acted wiſely in withdrawing from your country; may it not be thought inſenſibility, however, ſhould you ſhew no deſire of returning? In a word, tho' you ſhould take no ſatisfaction in public affairs, yet ſurely it is imprudent to abandon your own. But above all let me intreat you to conſider whether your preſent ſituation is as ſecure, as it may perhaps be agreeable. Violences are every where committed with great licentiouſneſs: but more particularly in foreign countries, where villainy is leſs reſtrained by awe and ſhame from its cruel purpoſes. I mention this from my concern for your welfare: which is ſo great indeed, that if it be not equal, it is certainly at leaſt inferior only to that of your relation Marcellus[7]. Believe me then, it becomes you to act agreeably to the circumſtances of the times, and with a rational regard to the preſervation of your life and fortunes. Farewel.

[7] Caius Marcellus.

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LETTER XX.

MARCUS MARCELLUS[8] to CICERO.

A.U. 707. I Have upon every occaſion ſhewn you, but particularly in the preſent, that I pay the higheſt regard to your ſentiments and advice. Accordingly, notwithſtanding my very affectionate relation Caius Marcellus, had not only entreated, but earneſtly conjured me to act in the manner you recommend; yet his perſuaſions could by no means prevail, till I found them ſupported by yours.

I am indebted to your letter for a particular account of the manner in which this affair has been tranſacted: and I am extremely obliged to you for your congratulations thereupon, as I know they proceed from an excellent heart. But among the very few friends and relations who have ſincerely endeavoured to promote my recall, nothing in this whole tranſaction, affords me ſo true a joy, as to have experienced your ſingular zeal and good-will towards me. Every thing elſe indeed, the calamities of the times have taught me to reſign with great tranquillity

[8] This letter ſeems to be an anſwer to that which is mentioned in the firſt remark on the preceding epiſtle.

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and indifference: but to be deprived of the friendſhip of men of your worth and character, would render life under every circumſtance altogether inſupportable. It is upon the enjoyment therefore of this privilege, that I chiefly congratulate myſelf: and I ſhall endeavour to convince you, that you have conferred your good offices upon one who is moſt ſincerely and warmly your friend. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XXI.

To MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUcius Titius Strabo is one of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt diſtinguiſhed of our Roman knights. I live with him in the ſtricteſt familiarity: as indeed we are united by every kind of friendly connection. He claims a debt which is owing to him in your province, from Publius Cornelius: but Volcatius, who preſides in our court of juſtice [9] at Rome, having refuſed to take

[9] The perſon who ſo preſided, was, according to the conſtitution of the Roman government, the *Prætor Urbanus*, or city prætor: but Cæſar would not ſuffer the people to proceed this year to the uſual election of their magiſtrates, excepting only with reſpect to the tribunes and ædiles. Inſtead of prætors therefore, he arbitrarily appointed a certain number of perſons to adminiſter the civil juriſdiction of the city: which is the reaſon (as one of the commentators conjectures) that Cicero does not call Volcatius by the proper title of his office. *Suet. in Jul.* 76.

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A.U. 707. cogniſance of the cauſe, has directed it to be tried in Gaul. I requeſt your aſſiſtance therefore in bringing this affair to a ſpeedy determination: and I requeſt it ſo much the more earneſtly than if it were my own, as a man may with a better grace be anxious for the pecuniary concerns that relate to his friend than to himſelf. Let me entreat you then to take the whole conduct of this buſineſs under your immediate direction. And I hope you will endeavour, as far as juſtice ſhall permit, that Strabo's freedman, who is employed to manage this ſuit, may recover the money in queſtion with as little trouble and expence as poſſible. In this you will greatly oblige me: and you will find likewiſe that Strabo is extremely deſerving of your friendſhip. Again and again therefore I conjure you to take his intereſt under your protection, with the ſame care you are wont to exert in every inſtance that you know will be agreeable to me. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXII.

To L. PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I Write this letter upon my tablets, in the midſt of an entertainment [1] at the houſe of Valumnius. We lay down about the ninth hour [2]: and I am placed with your friends Atticus on my right hand, and Verrius on my left. You will wonder to find that I can paſs my time thus jovially in the midſt of ſervitude. Yet tell me, my friend, you who are the diſciple of a philoſopher, what elſe ſhould I do? And to what purpoſe ſhould I torment myſelf with endleſs diſquietudes? "Spend your days then," you will probably reply, "in literary occupations." But can you imagine I have any other? or that without them my very being would not be utterly inſupportable? However, tho' employments of this kind cannot ſatiate; there is a certain time, nevertheleſs, when it is proper to lay them aſide. A.U. 707.

[1] The time of meals ſeems a very extraordinary ſeaſon for the purpoſe of writing letters. However, it was cuſtomary with the Romans to employ themſelves in this manner between the ſeveral courſes: and they uſually carried tablets about them for that uſe. Plutarch informs us, that Cæſar generally ſigned his diſpatches at table. *Plut. in vit. Cæſ.*

[2] The Romans reclined themſelves upon couches at their meals. The ninth hour anſwers to our three o'clock in the afternoon: and was the uſual time when they made their laſt and principal meal.

Now

A.U. 707. Now at ſuch intervals, tho' a party at ſupper is not altogether a point of ſo much importance to me, as it was to you, when you made it the ſingle ſubject of your arch query to the philoſopher [3]; yet I know not in what manner I can more agreeably diſpoſe of myſelf till the hour of ſleep. But I was going to name the reſt of our company; and to tell you, that [4] Cytheris is reclined [5] at the left hand of Eutrapelus. You will be aſtoniſhed, I ſuppoſe, to find your grave and philoſophical friend in ſuch ſociety; and will be apt to cry out with the poet [6],

And is This *he, the man ſo late renown'd;*
Whom virtue honour'd, and whom glory crown'd?
This, *the fam'd chief, of every tongue the praiſe;*
Of Greece the wonder, and of crowds the gaze?

The truth of the matter is, I had not the leaſt ſuſpicion that this fair lady was to be of our par-

[3] The ſtory to which Cicero here alludes, is more explicitly mentioned in a ſubſequent part of this letter.

[4] A celebrated courteſan: who a few years before the date of this letter had been a very favourite miſtreſs of Mark Antony. If the authority of Servius may be relied upon, ſhe is the *Lycoris*, whoſe infidelity to the poet Gallus is the ſubject of the laſt of Virgil's paſtorals. *Plut. in Vit. Ant. Serv. in Virg. Eclog.* 10.

[5] The reclining poſture at table was eſteemed indecent for women, and only practiſed by thoſe of a looſe character: as the Roman ladies of modeſty always ſate at their meals.

[6] Manutius ſuppoſes that the verſes here quoted, are from a tragedy of the poet Ennius, intitled *Telamon*: which is frequently mentioned by the antient grammarians.

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ty. However, I have the example of the So- A.U. 707.
cratic Ariſtippus[7], to keep me in countenance: who when he was reproached with having a commerce of gallantry with the Corinthian courteſan, *'tis true*, replied the philoſopher, (without being in the leaſt diſconcerted,) *I poſſeſs Lais; but Lais poſſeſſes not me.* The expreſſion is much ſtronger in the original[8]: and I leave you, if you think proper, to render it in its full import. In the mean time let me aſſure you, that I never had any paſſion of this ſort, even when I was a young fellow; and much leſs now that I am an old one. But my great delight is in theſe feſtive meetings: where I throw out juſt what comes uppermoſt, and laugh away the ſighs and ſorrows of my heart. Nor were you yourſelf in a more ſerious mood, my friend, when even a venerable philoſopher could not eſcape your raillery: to whom, when he was inquiring if the company had any queſtions to propoſe to him[9], you replied with

[7] He was a diſciple of Socrates: but either miſtaking or perverting the leſſons of his excellent maſter, he maintained, that "ſenſual pleaſure was the ſupreme and ultimate good." His practice was agreeable to his doctrine: and he ſpent his life (a great part of which he paſſed at the court of Dionyſius, the Sicilian tyrant) in every kind of luxurious indulgence. *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 16. 17. *Athen. Deipn.* 12.

[8] Εχω Λαιδα, ουκ εχομαι, was the anſwer of Ariſtippus: where the verb εχω, as Manutius obſerves, conveys a more obſcene ſenſe than the word *habeo*, into which Cicero tranſlates it.

[9] The conceitedneſs of the antient Sophiſts was ſo extravagant, that they pretended to be poſſeſſed of all knowledge,

A.U. 707. great gravity, that "it had been a queſtion with "you the whole morning, where you ſhould "find a party to ſup?" The formal pedant expected, perhaps, that you were going to aſk him, whether there was one heaven only, or heavens innumerable: whereas it was at that time, it ſeems, much more your concern to be reſolved in the humorous problem you propoſed.

Thus you ſee in what manner I paſs my time. I devote part of every day to reading or writing: after which, that I may not intirely ſeclude myſelf from the ſociety of my friends, I generally ſup in their parties. But upon theſe occaſions I am ſo far from tranſgreſſing our ſumptuary law, (if any law, alas! can now be ſaid to ſubſiſt) that I do not even indulge myſelf to the full extent it allows. You need not be alarmed therefore at my intended viſit: you will receive a gueſt who jokes much more abundantly than he eats. Farewel.

human and divine: inſomuch that one of them publicly boaſted at the Olympic games, that he was not only maſter of the whole circle of liberal arts and ſciences, but of the meaneſt mechanic crafts. Accordingly, it was cuſtomary with them to call upon their audience to propoſe any queſtion whatever, in which they were deſirous to be informed: which was no ſooner delivered out, than theſe philological mountebanks harangued upon it in that fluent jargon, with which ſchool-men in all ages have been ſo liberally endowed. The firſt who aſſumed theſe impious, ſhall they be termed, or ridiculous pretenſions to omniſcience, was one Gorgias, a Grecian: and this man, who in more enlightened days would have been looked upon with the utmoſt contempt by all true philoſophers, was held in ſuch high eſteem by his countrymen, that they erected a ſtatue to his memory, of ſolid gold. *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 32. *de Finib.* ii.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

To Ampius [1].

BElieve me, my dear Ampius, it is with the utmoſt reaſon that I congratulate you on the ſucceſs of your affairs. I am by no means indeed ſo imprudent, as to flatter you with falſe hopes: for an unexpected diſappointment would probably ſo depreſs your ſpirits, that nothing would ever be capable of raiſing them again. A.U. 707.

I have ſolicited your cauſe with more freedom than was altogether ſuitable, perhaps, to a man in my circumſtances: as the invariable friendſhip which I have ever borne towards you, and which you have always moſt faithfully cultivated, taught me to ſurmount the difficulties that fortune by impairing my credit, had thrown in my way. Accordingly the promiſe of your pardon is obtained: and all preliminaries are adjuſted and confirmed that relate to your reſtoration. I ſpeak this upon my own certain knowledge; having

[1] Titus Ampius had gradually riſen thro' the ſeveral employments of the ſtate, till he arrived at the prætorſhip: from which poſt he was elected, in the year 696, to the government of Cilicia. As he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf during his tribunate by promoting the intereſt and honours of Pompey; ſo he appears to have been a warm partiſan of his cauſe in the civil wars: in conſequence of which he was at this time in exile. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 376.

A.U. 707. been a witneſs to the whole tranſaction. It happens indeed very luckily, that I am connected with all Cæſar's favourites: inſomuch that next to Cæſar, there is no one who ſtands ſo high in their friendſhip as myſelf. Panſa, Hirtius, and Oppius; Balbus, Matius, and Poſtumius, have each of them diſtinguiſhed me with particular marks of their eſteem. If I had endeavoured to eſtabliſh this intereſt, merely with a view of ſerving you in the preſent conjuncture; I ſhould by no means think I had reaſon to be aſhamed. But I did not cultivate their good graces upon any motive of this temporizing kind: on the contrary, every one of theſe whom I inceſſantly ſollicited in your behalf, are my old friends. In this number we are principally obliged to Panſa: who as he has the greateſt credit and influence with Cæſar, ſo he ſhewed himſelf extremely zealous for your intereſt, and very deſirous likewiſe of obliging me. I muſt mention Tullius Cimber[a] alſo, as one with whoſe good offices upon this occaſion I have great reaſon to be ſatisfied. He employed them more ſucceſsfully upon your account, than he poſſibly could in favour of any

[a] This perſon, tho' greatly in favour with Cæſar, was afterwards one of the principal conſpirators againſt him. It was he that gave the ſignal to the reſt of his aſſociates when they aſſaſſinated Cæſar in the ſenate: and Cimber held him by the gown, while Caſſius gave him the firſt ſtab. *Suet. in Jul.* 82.

other man: for it is not intereſted ſollicitations A.U. 707.
ſo much, as thoſe which proceed entirely from friendſhip and gratitude, that prevail with Cæſar. Your warrant, however, is not yet actually ſigned. For there are certain malevolent ſpirits, (who affect to talk as if they were not ſecretly pleaſed that this civil war broke out, and who repreſent you as the principal fomenter of it,) that would be exceedingly offended if they knew you had obtained your pardon. It was thought adviſable therefore to manage this affair with great caution and ſecrecy; nor by any means at preſent to ſuffer our ſucceſs to be publicly known. It ſoon however will: and I doubt not that every thing will be ripe for that purpoſe, before this letter ſhall reach your hands. For Panſa, whoſe word may be depended upon, has promiſed me in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he will in a very few days procure your warrant. In the mean time, I thought proper to ſend you this previous account of the proſperous ſtate of your affairs. For I find by talking with your wife Epulia, and by the tender tears of your daughter Ampia, that you are more diſpirited than your letters intimate: and they are apprehenſive that your uneaſineſs will be encreaſed by their abſence. In order therefore to compoſe this anxiety of your mind, I thought it incum-

A.U. 707. bent on me thus to anticipate a piece of good news, which moſt aſſuredly will be verified. You are ſenſible that in my former letters I have rather employed ſuch arguments of conſolation as were proper to affect a man of your philoſophical magnanimity, than encouraged you to entertain any other certain hopes than thoſe of being reſtored with the republic, when theſe flames ſhould ſubſide. And here let me remind you of your letters to me, in which you have always diſcovered the moſt heroic determination to meet with firmneſs and fortitude whatever it might be your fate to ſuffer. I was by no means ſurpriſed to find that you were animated with theſe manly ſentiments, when I reflected that you had been converſant in the affairs of the world from your earlieſt youth; that you had exerciſed ſome of the moſt important employments of the commonwealth at a time when our lives and liberties were in the utmoſt danger [4]; and that you entered into the preſent war, not merely with the pleaſing proſpect of victory, but with a mind prepared to bear the reverſe with a wiſe and philoſophical reſignation. In fine, as you

[4] Ampius was tribune in the conſulate of Cicero, when the conſpiracy of Catiline was diſcovered: and was prætor in the year 695, when Clodius, who at the ſame time was tribune, raiſed ſo much diſturbance by his ſeditious laws; particularly by that which occaſioned Cicero's baniſhment. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 363.

are

are employed in recording the deeds of illuſtrious heroes [s]; it particularly concerns you to copy out in your own conduct that magnanimity which you are celebrating in others.—But this is talking in a ſtile more ſuitable to your late circumſtances than to your preſent. Let me only then exhort you to come prepared to endure thoſe calamities which you muſt ſuffer here in common with every citizen of Rome: calamities, for which if I had diſcovered any remedy, I ſhould moſt certainly impart it to you. The only refuge from them, is in thoſe philoſophical ſtudies, in which we have both of us ever been converſant: and theſe, tho' in more proſperous days they were only our amuſement, muſt now prove likewiſe our ſtrongeſt ſupport.—But to end as I began; let me deſire you to be well perſuaded, that all things are completely ſettled concerning your full pardon and reſtoration. Farewel. A.U. 707.

[s] This work ſeems to have been of the biographical kind, and to have included the life of Julius Cæſar: as Suetonius quotes a paſſage from it concerning the conduct of that emperor. *Vid. Suet. in Jul.* 77.

LETTER XXIV.

To P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconſul.

A.U. 707. AS the friendſhip that ſubſiſts between us, and the ſingular affection you bear me, are circumſtances univerſally known; I find myſelf under a frequent neceſſity of applying to you in behalf of thoſe who ſolicit my recommendations. But though I am a general well-wiſher to all whom I thus introduce to your favour; yet I do not pretend to be equally intereſted in the ſucceſs of every one of them. I am particularly ſo, however, in that of Titus Egnatius; as he was the generous companion of my exile, and ſhared with me in all the pains, the difficulties, and the dangers which I underwent both by ſea and land, during that moſt unfortunate period of my life. Nor would he, without my conſent, have left me at this juncture. I recommend him to you, therefore, as one of my family, for whom I have the greateſt regard: and you will much oblige me by convincing him, that this letter ſhall have proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXV.

TO CURIUS[6].

THERE was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by preferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that Rome (while yet, alas! it was Rome) muſt be far more ſuitable, I will not only ſay than Patræ, but even than the nobleſt city in the Peloponneſus, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into Greece, when our affairs were well nigh deſperate, as a ſtrong proof of your great penetration; and I conſider your abſence not only as a very judicious, but a very happy reſolution. Yet why do I call it happy? when it is impoſſible that happineſs ſhould be the portion of any man in theſe wretched times, who poſſeſſes the leaſt degree of A. U. 707.

[6] He was one of the city quæſtors in the year 691, and about five years afterwards was elected into the poſt of tribune. It does not appear that he advanced any farther in the offices of the ſtate. On the contrary, it ſeems probable that he turned his purſuits into an humbler channel, and engaged in ſome branch of commerce. It was for this purpoſe, perhaps, that about the time when the diſſentions between Pompey and Cæſar broke out, he retired into Greece, and ſettled at Patræ. See let. 2. of the following book. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 334.

ſenſibility.

A.U. 707. ſenſibility. However, that deſirable privilege, which you, who were at liberty to leave Italy, enjoy by travelling; I have procured by another method: and I can in ſome ſort ſay, no leſs than yourſelf, that I live

Where nor the name, nor deeds accurs'd I hear
Of Pelops' impious race [7].

For as ſoon as my levee is over, (which is ſomewhat more frequented than formerly; a patriot being now looked upon as a ſight, of all others, the moſt uncommon [8]) I ſhut myſelf up in my library. And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compoſitions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that ſpirit you once ſaid ſo ill agreed with my dejection and deſpair; when you reproached me at your houſe, for not acting up to the fortitude that appeared in my writings. I muſt con-

[7] The ſons of Pelops were Atreus and Thyeſtes, whoſe impious and cruel acts are recorded in fabulous hiſtory. The dramatic poet Attius, wrote a tragedy entitled Atreus; from which play, it is probable, this line was quoted; and which Cicero ſeems to apply to the violences committed by ſome of the leading men in the ſucceſsful party. That Cicero, however, by no means lived the recluſe he here repreſents himſelf, has already appeared by ſeveral letters in the preſent and preceding book, by which it is evident that he mixed with great freedom and gaiety, among the chiefs of the victorious faction.

[8] A true patriot was a ſight in all ages too uncommon, it muſt be owned, not to have been worth remarking: but whether thoſe who viſited Cicero, in order to view ſo ſingular a curioſity, were diſappointed or not; is a queſtion which every reader by this time, perhaps, may be able very clearly to determine.

feſs,

feſs, I could not at that time forbear lamenting A.U. 707.
the wretched fate of the republic: to which I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been diſtinguiſhed with its honours, but had greatly aſſiſted it by my ſervices. And even now that time (which wears out the ſorrows of the weakeſt minds) together with reaſon (which ought to have the ſtrongeſt influence for that purpoſe) have jointly contributed to compoſe my breaſt; yet I ſtill lament to ſee the commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever riſing more! There is nothing, however, that can at preſent be juſtly imputed to Him in whom all power is now veſted: unleſs perhaps it be, that he has more than he ought. And as to what is paſt; our fate and our follies have had ſo large a ſhare in all that has happened, that we cannot complain with a good grace. As little reaſon is there to hope that affairs will mend. I cannot therefore but conclude my letter as I began it, with admiring your judgment if it were choice, or your fortune if it were chance, that led you from this unpleaſing ſcene. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXVI.

TO LIGARIUS.

A.U.707. BE aſſured, that I am exerting my utmoſt efforts of every kind in order to procure your reſtoration. In truth, the ſingular and pious affection of your brothers, for whom I bear the ſame warm friendſhip that I entertain for yourſelf, will not ſuffer me to neglect any opportunity of employing my beſt offices in your behalf. But I had rather you ſhould learn from their letters than from mine, what I have already performed, and what I am ſtill endeavouring to perform, in your affairs. I will only therefore acquaint you myſelf with the ſtrong and well-grounded hopes I have conceived, that your reſtoration will ſoon be effected. Let me previouſly obſerve, that my fears in all doubtful caſes of importance, are ever apt to be much ſuperior to my hopes: a fault, if it be a fault, which I am very ready to acknowledge. Nevertheleſs, the laſt time I waited upon Cæſar, I came away with a full perſuaſion, that there was not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of his granting you a pardon. I attended him for this purpoſe, at the requeſt of your brothers, on the 26th of November laſt, in the morning:

morning: not without encountering all the uſual difficulties and indignities, before I could gain admittance. Your brothers, and the reſt of your relations having thrown themſelves at his feet, I ſupported their petition with ſuch arguments as I thought ſuitable to the occaſion [9]. And I could A. U. 707.

[9] Cicero had ſhortly afterwards a more public occaſion of teſtifying his zeal for his friend. For Tubero, tho' he had himſelf engaged in the ſame party with Ligarius, having from private pique oppoſed the recall of Ligarius; Cicero defended him before Cæſar in the forum, in a noble oration which is ſtill extant. It was upon this occaſion that the pomp and energy of the Roman orator's rhetoric is ſaid to have had ſuch a wonderful effect, that it not only made Cæſar tremble, but what is yet more extraordinary, it made him change his determined purpoſe, and acquit the man he had reſolved to condemn. This ſtory has often been alledged in proof of the power of antient eloquence: and the tranſlator confeſſes, that he has himſelf, in the letters publiſhed under the name of Sir Thomas Fitzoſborne, produced it for that purpoſe. But upon a ſtricter enquiry, the ſuppoſed fact ſeems to be extremely queſtionable. For in the firſt place, there is not the leaſt trace of it in any part of Cicero's writings. Now this his total ſilence ſeems to furniſh a very ſtrong preſumptive argument, to deſtroy the credit of the ſtory: for it is altogether improbable, that a man of Cicero's character ſhould have omitted any opportunity of diſplaying a circumſtance ſo exceedingly to the honour of his oratorical powers. In the next place, it is very obſervable, that Valerius Maximus, who has a chapter expreſly to ſhew the force of eloquence, and who mentions a particular inſtance of this kind with regard to Cæſar himſelf; yet takes not the leaſt notice of the fact in queſtion. But if it had been true, is it credible either that it ſhould never have reached his knowledge, or that knowing it, he ſhould have paſſed it over in ſilence? eſpecially as it afforded him a much ſtronger inſtance for his purpoſe, than any he has thought proper to enumerate. It is remarkable likewiſe, that Quintilian, tho' he frequently cites the very paſſage in this celebrated oration, which is ſuppoſed to have raiſed the plainly

A.U. 707. plainly perceive, not only by the gracious anſwer which Cæſar returned, but by the whole air of his countenance, together with ſeveral other little circumſtances much eaſier to remark than deſcribe, that he was extremely well inclined in your favour [1]. Preſerve then, my friend, a firm and vigorous frame of mind: and if you bore the dark and tempeſtuous ſeaſon of your affairs with fortitude, let their preſent more ſerene and favour-

ſtrongeſt emotions in Cæſar's breaſt; yet gives not the leaſt intimation of the effect which it is pretended to have wrought. Plutarch is the only antient writer who relates this ſtory; and he introduces it with a λεγεται δε: an expreſſion which ſeems to imply, that he did not copy it from any earlier hiſtorian, but received it only from common tradition. Now it might be ſufficient to give riſe to ſuch a report, if Cæſar had been ſeiſed during the courſe of this trial with one of his uſual epileptic fits, which were attended with that change of colour and trembling of the nerves that Plutarch aſcribes to the force of Cicero's rhetoric. And that this is all that there was of truth in the caſe, is rendered probable by the teſtimony of Suetonius: who informs us, that Cæſar was twice ſeiſed with theſe fits, when he was engaged in judicial affairs. *Val. Max.* viii. 9. *Quint. Inſtit. Orat.* viii. 4. 6. ix. 2. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.* *Suet. in Jul.* 45.

[1] Cicero's preſages in the preſent inſtance appear to have been well grounded: for Ligarius ſhortly afterwards obtained Cæſar's permiſſion to return to Rome. Ligarius nevertheleſs entered into the conſpiracy againſt him: and hiſtory has recorded the very ſpirited anſwer which Ligarius made to Brutus, when that illuſtrious Roman paid him a viſit, in order to invite him into a participation of his ſcheme. Brutus finding him ſick in bed, began to lament that he ſhould be confined at ſo critical a conjuncture: upon which Ligarius raiſing himſelf on his arm, and taking Brutus by the hand, *Oh my friend*, ſaid he, *if you are meditating any enterpriſe worthy of yourſelf; I am well.* *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

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able aſpect fill your heart with chearfulneſs. A.U. 707.
As for myſelf, I ſhall continue to act with as much aſſiduity in your cauſe, as if there were ſtill many obſtacles to ſurmount. To this end, I ſhall very zealouſly perſevere in my applications, not only to Cæſar, but to all thoſe who are moſt in his favour: every one of whom I have experienced to be much my friend. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

To P. Servilius Isauricus, Proconſul.

I Took occaſion when we were walking in your gardens, to recommend to you with all poſſible earneſtneſs, the Aſiatic affairs of my friend Cerellia [a]. And agreeably to your uſual diſpoſition, and to thoſe many great and good offices I have perpetually received at your hands, you very generouſly aſſured me of your utmoſt aſſiſtance. This circumſtance, I perſuade myſelf, you have

[a] This lady was not only a particular friend of Cicero, but a great reader and admirer of his moral writings. But neither her philoſophy nor her age, tho' ſhe was ten years older than Cicero, could ſecure her character from cenſure: and ſlander has ſaid, that her intercourſe with our author did not always turn upon matters of ſpeculation. But if the reader has the curioſity to ſee this charge entirely overthrown, he will find a very ſatisfactory confutation of it in Monſieur Mongault's fourth remark on the 51ſt letter of the 12th book to Attiçus.

not

A.U. 707. not forgotten: I am ſure at leaſt, it is not cuſtomary with you to be unmindful of my requeſts. However, the agents of this lady inform her in their letters, that the numerous occupations in which ſo extenſive a province engages you, render it neceſſary that you ſhould be reminded from time to time of your promiſe. I entreat you therefore to recollect that you gave me full aſſurances of employing your good offices in favour of Cerellia, ſo far as ſhould be conſiſtent with your honour: and I think your powers for this purpoſe are very extenſive. For if I miſtake not, the decree of the ſenate, which paſſed in relation to the heirs of Vannonius, is expreſſed in ſuch terms as to admit of an interpretation extremely advantageous to Cerellia's intereſt. But this muſt be ſubmitted entirely to your own judgment; which I doubt not will conſtrue this decree in the ſenſe in which it was intended by the ſenate: as I know the reſpect you always bear for the reſolutions of that aſſembly. I will only add therefore, that I deſire you would believe, that every inſtance in which you ſhall favour Cerellia, will be a ſingular obligation conferred upon myſelf. Farewel.

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LETTER XXVIII.

To AULUS CÆCINA[3].

I Was informed by your zealous friend Largus, that the time limited for your continuance in Sicily, expires on the firſt of January next. Having therefore upon all occaſions obſerved that Cæſar ratifies whatever Balbus and Oppius act in his abſence[4], I very ſtrenuouſly ſollicited them that you might be permitted to remain in that iſland as long as you ſhould think proper. In all my applications of this kind, they have either inſtantly complied with my deſire, if it happened not to be particularly diſagreeable to them; or have aſſigned their reaſons for refuſing: but in the preſent inſtance they did A.U. 707.

[3] Aulus Cæcina was a perſon of great and amiable virtues in private life: and he was diſtinguiſhed likewiſe in public for his genius, his eloquence, and his erudition. He ſeems to have particularly excelled in the ſcience of divination: upon which ſubject he wrote a treatiſe, which is often cited by Seneca. In the civil wars he not only drew his ſword but his pen againſt Cæſar; having publiſhed an invective upon that general, which appears to have extremely offended him. Cæcina was accordingly baniſhed: and the preſent and following letters to him, were written during his exile in Sicily. *Cic. Orat. pro Cæcin.* 35, 36. *Senec. Natural. Quæſt.* ii. *paſſim.*

[4] Cæſar was at this time in Spain, purſuing the war againſt the ſons of Pompey: whilſt Oppius and Balbus were acting as his vicegerents at Rome.

A.U. 707. not give me an immediate anſwer. However, they called upon me again the very ſame day, in order to acquaint me, that in conſequence of my requeſt you were at liberty to continue in Sicily during your own inclination: and they would be anſwerable, they ſaid, that Cæſar would not be diſpleaſed. Thus you ſee how far your licence extends: and I need not tell you what uſe it would be moſt adviſeable for you to make of it.

After I had written thus far, your letter was given into my hands, wherein you deſire my opinion, whether you ſhould remain in Sicily, or go into Aſia in order to ſettle your affairs in that province. I do not well know how to reconcile this queſtion to the account which I mentioned above to have received from Largus. For he talked to me as if you were not at liberty to reſide any longer in Sicily: whereas your query ſeems to imply the contrary. Be this as it may, my ſentiments are, that you ſhould by all means continue in that iſland. The nearneſs of its ſituation renders it extremely convenient for the more expeditiouſly receiving and returning letters and expreſſes during the negotiation of your pardon: as you will be ſo much the earlier likewiſe amongſt us, if you ſhould, as I hope, obtain leave to return to Rome, or at leaſt, into Italy.

Italy. For theſe reaſons therefore, I am altogether againſt your removing from your preſent quarters. A.U. 707.

I ſhall not fail to recommend you in the ſtrongeſt terms to Furfanius Poſthumus and his lieutenants, when they arrive here: but at preſent they are all at Mutina. They are every one of them my friends: and not only perſons of ſingular merit, but great admirers of men of your character. You may, without any particular application to me, depend upon my beſt aſſiſtance in every other article, wherein I imagine my ſervices can avail you. And ſhould there be any of which I may be ignorant; if you will point them out to me, you will find that you could not have employed any other of your friends who would have acted in your affairs with ſo warm a zeal.

Tho' I ſhall ſpeak ſo effectually to Furfanius, that there will be no neceſſity for your delivering a letter to him on my part; yet as ſome of your family were deſirous you ſhould have one, I could not refuſe their requeſt: and I have added at the bottom of this, a copy of my letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXIX.

To TITUS FURFANIUS[6], Proconſul.

A.U. 707. IT is impoſſible to be more intimately united with any man, than I have ever been with Aulus Cæcina. I lived in great familiarity with his illuſtrious father: and the early preſages I obſerved in the ſon, of the moſt exalted probity and eloquence, won my affections to him from his youth. We were attached to each other, not only by the mutual exchange of many friendly offices, but by the ſame common taſtes and ſtudies: inſomuch that there is no man for whom I ever entertained a more tender regard. After this I need only add, that I am under the ſtrongeſt obligations, as you ſee, to protect both his perſon and his fortunes, to the utmoſt of my power. As I know, by many inſtances, the ſentiments you entertain both of the calamities of the republic, and of thoſe who ſuffer for its ſake; I am ſure your own inclinations will lead you to aſſiſt Cæcina. I will only intreat you therefore, to ſuffer my recommendation to encreaſe that favourable diſpoſition, in proportion to the eſteem

[6] He was appointed by Cæſar, proconſul of Sicily for the following year: in which poſt he is ſaid to have conducted himſelf with great clemency and moderation. *Quartier.*

which

which I am ſenſible you bear me. And be well perſuaded, that you cannot give me a more ſenſible proof of your friendſhip. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XXX.

Aulus Cæcina to Cicero.

I Hope you will not only pardon the fears, but pity the misfortunes, which prevented your receiving my performance ſo ſoon as I intended: but my ſon was apprehenſive, I hear, that the publication of this piece might prove to my prejudice. And indeed as the effect of compoſitions of this kind, depends more upon the temper in which they are read, than on that in which they are written; his fears were by no means irrational: eſpecially as I am ſtill a ſufferer for the liberties of my pen. In this reſpect my fate, ſurely, is ſomewhat ſingular. For the errors of an author are generally either reformed by a blot, or puniſhed by the loſs of his fame: whereas baniſhment, on the contrary, has been thought the more proper method of correcting mine. And yet the whole of my crime amounts only to this; that I poured forth my invectives againſt the man with whom I was openly at war. Now there was not a ſingle perſon, I ſuppoſe, in the ſame party with myſelf, who was not in effect guilty of the

A.U. 707. ſame offence: as there was not one who did not ſend up his vows for ſucceſs to our cauſe, or that offered a ſacrifice, tho' upon an occaſion ever ſo foreign to publie affairs, without imploring the Gods that Cæſar might ſoon be defeated. If he imagines otherwiſe, he is extremely happy in his ignorance. But if he knows this to be fact; why am I marked out as the particular object of his wrath, for having written ſomething which he did not approve; whilſt he forgives every one of thoſe, who were perpetually invoking Heaven for his perdition?

But I was going to acquaint you with the reaſon of thoſe fears, which I mentioned in the beginning of my letter. In the firſt place then, I have taken notice of you in the piece in queſtion: tho' at the ſame time I have touched upon your conduct with great caution and reſerve. Not that I have by any means changed my ſentiments concerning it; but as being afraid to ſay all that they dictated to me. Now it is well known, that in compoſitions of the panegyrical kind, an author ſhould not only deliver his applauſes with a full and unlimited freedom, but heighten them likewiſe with a ſuitable ſtrength and warmth of expreſſion. In ſatire, indeed, tho' great liberties are generally thought allowable, yet a writer muſt always be upon his guard, leſt he degene-

rates

rates into petulance and ſcurrility. An author A.U. 707.
is ſtill more reſtrained in ſpeaking advantageouſly of himſelf: as without much care and circumſpection, he will appear arrogant and conceited. Of all ſubjects therefore of a *perſonal* nature, it is panegyric alone wherein a writer may expatiate uncontroled: as he cannot be ſparing in the encomiums he beſtows upon another, without incurring the imputation of envy, or inability. But in the preſent inſtance you will think yourſelf, perhaps, obliged to me. For as I was not at liberty to repreſent your actions in the manner they deſerve; the next favour to being totally ſilent concerning them, was to mention them as little as poſſible. But difficult as it was to contain myſelf upon ſo copious a ſubject, I however forbore: and as there were various parts of your conduct I did not venture even to touch upon; ſo in the reviſal of my work I not only found it neceſſary to ſtrike out ſeveral circumſtances I had inſerted, but to place many of thoſe which I ſuffered to remain, in a leſs advantageous point of view. But ſhould an architect in raiſing a flight of ſteps, omit ſome, cut away part of thoſe he had fixed, and leave many of the reſt looſe and ill joined together, might he not more properly be ſaid to erect a ruin, than an eaſy and regular aſcent? In the

A.U. 707. ſame manner, where an author is conſtrained by a thouſand unhappy circumſtances, to break the juſt coherence of his piece, and deſtroy its proper gradation; how can he hope to produce any thing that ſhall merit the applauſe of a refined and judicious ear? But I was ſtill more embarraſſed, where my ſubject led me to ſpeak of Cæſar: and I will own that I trembled whenever I had occaſion to mention his name. My fears however did not ariſe from any apprehenſion that what I wrote might draw upon me his farther chaſtiſement; but leſt it ſhould not be agreeable to his particular ſentiments: with which indeed I am by no means well acquainted. But with what ſpirit can a man compoſe when he is obliged to aſk himſelf at every ſentence; "Will Cæ-" ſar approve of this? May not this expreſſion " appear of ſuſpicious import? Or will he not " think it ſtill worſe if I change it thus?" But beſides theſe difficulties, I was perplexed likewiſe in regard to the applauſes and cenſures which I dealt out to others: as I was afraid I might apply them where they would not, perhaps, be very agreeable to Cæſar, tho' they might not actually give him offence. I reflected, that if his vengeance purſued me for what I wrote, whilſt I had my ſword in my hand; what might be the conſequence ſhould I diſpleaſe him now that

that I am a diſarmed exile? Theſe fears en- A.U. 707.
creaſed upon me, when I conſidered the cautious manner in which you thought it neceſſary to deliver your ſentiments in your treatiſe entitled the *Orator:* where you modeſtly apologiſe for venturing to publiſh your notions upon the ſubject, by aſcribing it to the requeſt of Brutus. But if you, whoſe eloquence has rendered you the general patron of every Roman, deemed it expedient to be thus artfully guarded; how much more requiſite is it for your old client, who is now reduced to implore that protection from every citizen in general, which he once received from yourſelf in particular? An author who writes under the conſtraint of ſo many doubts and fears, tho' fears, perhaps, that are altogether groundleſs; who is forced to adjuſt almoſt every ſentence, not to his own judgment, but to the impreſſion it may probably make upon others; will find it extremely difficult to execute any compoſition with ſucceſs. And tho' this is a difficulty which you have never, it is poſſible, experienced; as your exalted genius is equal to every undertaking; yet I am ſure I experienced it very ſenſibly myſelf. Nevertheleſs I ordered my ſon to read my performance to you; but not to leave it in your hands, unleſs you would promiſe to correct it: that

A.U. 707. that is, unleſs you would new model it in all its parts.

As to my Aſiatic expedition: notwithſtanding my affairs require my preſence in that province; yet in obedience to your advice, I have laid aſide my intended voyage. And now, as you are ſenſible that my fate muſt neceſſarily, one way or other, be ſoon determined; I need not, I am perſuaded, particularly exhort you to aſſiſt me with your good offices. Let me only intreat you, my dear Cicero, not to defer them in expectation of my ſon's arrival. For his youth, his tenderneſs, and his fears, render him ill able to think of every meaſure which may be proper to be taken for my advantage. The whole management therefore of my cauſe, muſt reſt entirely upon you; as it is upon you, in truth, that all my hopes depend. Your judicious obſervation has enabled you to penetrate into the receſſes of Cæſar's heart; and you are acquainted with all the moſt probable methods of prevailing with him: ſo that each ſucceſsful ſtep that ſhall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its concluſion, muſt proceed altogether from you. I am ſenſible likewiſe that you have great intereſt with Cæſar, and ſtill greater with all his favourites. I doubt not then, of your effecting my reſtoration, if you will exert yourſelf for that

purpoſe not only in ſuch inſtances wherein I ſhall A.U. 707.
particularly requeſt your aſſiſtance, (tho' that indeed would be a very conſiderable obligation) but by taking the whole conduct of this matter into your own hands. Perhaps my judgment is blinded by my misfortunes, or I expect more from your friendſhip than in modeſty I ought, when I venture thus to impoſe upon you ſo heavy a burthen. But whichever may be the caſe, your general conduct towards your friends will furniſh me with an excuſe: for the zeal which you exert upon all occaſions where their intereſt is concerned, has taught them, not only to expect, but even to claim your ſervices.

With regard to the book which my ſon will deliver to you; I intreat you either not to ſuffer it to be publiſhed, or to correct it in ſuch a manner, that it may not appear to my diſadvantage. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

To P. Servilius Isauricus, Proconſul.

I Need not inform you, that Curtius Mithres is the favourite freedman of my very intimate friend Poſtumus: but let me aſſure you, that he diſtinguiſhes me with the ſame marks of reſpect which

A.U. 707. which he pays to his patron himſelf. Whenever I was at Epheſus, I made uſe of his houſe as my own: and many incidents concurred which afforded me full proofs both of his fidelity and his affection. For this reaſon, as often as either my friends or myſelf have any affairs to tranſact in Aſia, I always apply to Mithres: and I command, not only his ſervices, but his purſe and his houſe with the ſame freedom that I ſhould diſpoſe of my own. I particulariſe theſe circumſtances the more minutely, that you may ſee it is not upon common motives, or to gratify the purpoſes of any ambitious views, that I now apply to you: but on the contrary, that it is in favour of one with whom I am united by the ſtrongeſt connections. I intreat you then to do me the honour of aſſiſting him with your good offices, not only in the lawſuit wherein he is engaged with a certain citizen of Colophon [1], but in every other inſtance alſo, as far as ſhall be conſiſtent with your own character and convenience. But tho' I make this exception, yet I am ſure he has too much modeſty to aſk any thing improper of you. Indeed it is his utmoſt wiſh, that his own merit in conjunction with my recommendation, may procure him your eſteem. I very earneſtly therefore conjure you, not only to favour him with

[1] A city of Ionia, in Aſia Minor: and one of thoſe which claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Homer.

your

your protection, but to receive him into the number of your friends. In return, you may depend upon my moſt zealous ſervices upon all occaſions wherein I ſhall imagine either your intereſt, or your inclination may require them. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XXXII.

To Aulus Cæcina.

AS often as I ſee your ſon (and I ſee him almoſt every day) I never fail to aſſure him of my zealous aſſiſtance, without any exception of time, of labour, or of buſineſs: and I promiſe him likewiſe my credit and intereſt with this ſingle limitation, that he may rely upon them as far as the ſmall ſhare I poſſeſs of either can poſſibly extend.

I have read your performance [a], and ſtill continue to read it, with much attention: as I ſhall preſerve it with the greateſt fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern: and I have the pleaſure to ſee them every day appear with a more and more favourable aſpect. You have many friends who contribute their good offices for this purpoſe: of whoſe zeal

[a] See the 30th let. of this Book.

your

A.U. 707. your ſon, I am aſſured, has already acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to diſcern more, than, I am perſuaded, you ſee yourſelf: but as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater diſcompoſure of mind, I think it proper to give you my ſentiments concerning them. Believe me then it is impoſſible, from the nature and circumſtances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adverſity, ſhould long remain under your preſent misfortunes: yes, my friend, it is impoſſible that ſo ſevere an injury ſhould continue to oppreſs the honeſt advocates of ſo good a cauſe. But my hopes are particularly ſtrong with reſpect to yourſelf: not merely in conſideration of your rank and virtues, (for theſe you poſſeſs in common with many others) but particularly from your ſingular learning and genius. The man in whoſe power we all of us are, holds theſe ſhining qualities in much eſteem: and I am well perſuaded, you would not have remained even a ſingle moment in your preſent ſituation, if he had not imagined himſelf wounded [1] by thoſe talents he admires. His reſentment, however, ſeems daily cooling: and it has been intimated to me by ſome of his

[1] See rem. 3. on let. 28. of this Book.

moſt

moſt particular friends, that you will undoubted- A.U. 707.
ly find advantage in the high opinion he has conceived of your abilities. Let me conjure you then, in the firſt place, to preſerve a firm and unſhaken fortitude of mind, as what you owe to your birth, to your education, to your learning, and to that character you have univerſally obtained: and, in the next place, that for the reaſons I have already aſſigned, you would entertain the ſtrongeſt and moſt favourable hopes. Be well perſuaded likewiſe, that I ſhall always moſt readily contribute my warmeſt ſervices both to you and to your family. You have indeed a full right to expect them, from that affection which has ſo long ſubſiſted between us; from the conduct I ever obſerve towards all my friends; and from the numberleſs good offices I have received at your hands. Farewel.

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LETTER XXXIII.

To P. Servilius Isauricus, Proconſul.

A.U. 707. AS the ſhare you allow me in your friendſhip is by no means a ſecret to the world; it occaſions great numbers to apply to me for recommendations. My letters to you therefore of this kind are ſometimes, I confeſs, no other than the tributes of common compliment. They are much more frequently, however, the dictates of a real affection: as is the caſe, be aſſured, in the preſent inſtance, when I recommend to you Ampius Menander, the freedman of my friend Ampius Balbus. He is a very worthy, modeſt man, and highly in the eſteem both of his patron, and myſelf. You will much oblige me then by aſſiſting him with your good offices in every inſtance that ſhall not be inconvenient to you: and believe me, it is with great earneſtneſs that I make this requeſt. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXXIV.

To Aulus Cæcina.

I Am afraid you will think that I am a more negligent correſpondent than I ought, conſidering the union between us as partiſans of the ſame cauſe; as being joined in the ſame ſtudies, and as having mutually conferred upon each other many obliging good offices. The ſincere truth however is, that I ſhould much ſooner and much oftener have written to you, if I had not been in daily expectation of ſeeing your affairs in a better train: and I rather choſe, inſtead of confirming you in the ſpirit with which you bear your misfortunes, to have ſent you my congratulations on their being ended. I ſtill hope to have that pleaſure very ſhortly. In the mean time I think it incumbent upon me to endeavour; if not with all the authority of a philoſopher; at leaſt with all the influence of a friend, to confirm and ſtrengthen you in that manly ſpirit with which I hear; and believe, you are animated. For this purpoſe I ſhall not addreſs you as one whoſe misfortunes are without hope; but as a perſon of whoſe reſtoration I have conceived the ſame well-grounded confi- A.U. 707.

A.U. 707. dence which you formerly, I remember, entertained of mine. For when I was driven from my country by a ſet of men, who were convinced they could never effect their deſtructive purpoſes ſo long as I continued in the commonwealth; I was informed by many of my friends who viſited me from Aſia, where you then reſided, that you ſtrongly aſſured them of my ſpeedy and honourable recall. Now if the principles of the Etruſcan ſcience [4], in which you were inſtructed by your illuſtrious and excellent father, did not deceive you with reſpect to me; neither will my preſages be leſs infallible with regard to you. They are derived indeed, not only from the maxims and records of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſages, whoſe writings, you well know, I have ſtudied with great application; but from a long experience in public affairs, and from having paſſed thro' various ſcenes both of proſperity and adverſity.

[4] The Romans derived their doctrine and rites of divination, and probably indeed many other of their religious and civil inſtitutions, from the Etruſcans: a very antient, learned, and powerful nation, who were once maſters of almoſt all Italy, and who inhabited that part which is now called Tuſcany. Cæcina, who was a native of this province, and well ſkilled in that pretended prophetic art for which his countrymen were particularly famous, foretold, it ſeems, that Cicero's baniſhment would ſoon end, (as in fact it did) in a glorious reſtoration. *Val. Max.* i. 1. *Liv.* v. 33. *Pigh. Annal.* i. p. 430. See rem. 3. p. 369. of this vol.

I have

I have the ſtronger reaſon to confide in this A.U. 707.
method of divination, as it has never once deceived me during all theſe dark and diſtracted times: inſomuch that were I to mention my predictions, I am afraid you would ſuſpect that I framed them after the events I pretend to have foretold [5]. However, there are many who can bear me witneſs, that I forewarned Pompey againſt entering into any aſſociation with Cæſar [6]: and that I afterwards as ſtrongly endeavoured to diſſuade him from breaking that union. I clearly ſaw indeed, that their conjunction would conſiderably impair the ſtrength of the ſenate; and that their ſeparation would as inevitably kindle the flames of a civil war. I lived at that time in great familiarity with Cæſar, as well as entertained the higheſt regard to Pompey: and accordingly the faithful advice I gave to the latter, was equally to the benefit of both. I forbear to inſtance ſeveral other articles, in which my prophetic admoni-

[5] Cicero's wonderful reach of judgment in penetrating far into the conſequences of events, is by no means exaggerated in the preſent paſſage. On the contrary, it is confirmed by the teſtimony of an hiſtorian who knew him well; and who aſſures us that Cicero pointed out with a prophetic diſcernment, ſeveral circumſtances that were fulfilled, not only in his own life-time, but after his death. *Corn. Nepos in vit. Attic.* 17.

[6] The motives which induced Pompey to enter into this union with Cæſar, have been already explained in rem. 8. p. 114. vol. i.

A.U. 707. tions have been verified. For as I have received great obligations from Cæſar, I am unwilling he ſhould know, that had Pompey followed my counſels, tho' Cæſar would ſtill have been the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon in the republic, he would not have been in poſſeſſion of that extenſive power he now enjoys. I will confeſs however, that I always gave it as my opinion, that Pompey ſhould go to his government in Spain: with which if he had happily complied, we ſhould never have been involved in this fatal civil war [7]. I contended likewiſe, not ſo much that Cæſar ſhould be received as a candidate for the conſulſhip during his abſence [8]; as that the

[7] Pompey, inſtead of going to his government of Spain, continued in Italy, with the command of two legions which were quartered near Rome. This gave umbrage to Cæſar: who ſuſpected, as the truth was, that theſe troops were deſigned to act againſt him. In order therefore to remove his apprehenſions of this kind, it was propoſed by Cicero, and ſome others of the more moderate party, that Pompey ſhould retire to his government. But this motion was overruled by the conſul Lentulus: who prevailed with the ſenate to paſs a decree, whereby Cæſar, who had already croſſed the Rubicon, was commanded to withdraw his forces out of Italy by a certain day therein named: and in caſe of diſobedience, that he ſhould be conſidered as a public enemy. *Hiſt. de Bel. Gal.* viii. 55. *Cæſ. Bel. Civil.* i. 2.

[8] Pompey when he was conſul the third time, in the year 701. procured a law impowering Cæſar to offer himſelf as a candidate for the conſulſhip, without appearing perſonally at Rome for that purpoſe. This was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Roman conſtitution, and proved in the event the occaſion of its being utterly deſtroyed; as it furniſhed Cæſar with the only ſpecious pretence

law

law which the people enacted for that purpoſe, A.U. 707.
and enacted too at the earneſt ſollicitation of Pompey in his conſulate, ſhould be religiouſly obſerved [o]. It was the rejecting of this advice, that gave occaſion to the civil war: which I ſtill laboured to extinguiſh by every method of remonſtrance in my power, and by warmly repreſenting, that in conteſts of this kind, tho' ever ſo juſtly founded, even the moſt diſadvantageous terms of accommodation were preferable to having recourſe to arms. But my ſentiments were over-ruled: not ſo much by Pom-

for turning his arms againſt the republic. Cicero affirms in one of his Philippics, that he endeavoured to diſſuade Pompey from ſuffering this law to paſs: *Duo—tempora inciderunt*, ſays he, *quibus aliquid contra Cæſarem Pompeio ſuaſerim——— Unum, ne, &c.—alterum*, ne pateretur ferri ut abſentis ejus ratio haberetur. *Quorum ſi utrumvis perſuaſiſſem, in has miſerias nunquam incidiſſemus. Philip.* ii. 10. But if what Cicero here aſſerts be true; he acted a moſt extraordinary part indeed. For at the ſame time that he laboured to *diſſuade* Pompey from ſuffering this law to paſs, he *perſuaded* Cœlius, who was one of the tribunes of the people, to promote it, or at leaſt not to oppoſe it: agreeably to a promiſe which he had given to Cæſar for that purpoſe. This appears by a paſſage in one of his letters to Atticus, where ſpeaking of Cæſar's claim to ſue for the conſulate, without perſonally attending at Rome, he tells Atticus, *Ut illi hoc liceret*, adjuvi: *rogatus ab ipſo Ravennæ de Cœlio tribuno plebis. Ad At.* vii. 1.

[o] Whether this law ſhould, or ſhould not, be ſuperſeded, was a queſtion upon which Cicero found the republic divided at his return from Cilicia, juſt before the civil war broke out. And altho' he certainly acted an unjuſtifiable part in promoting this law; yet after it had once paſſed, it ſeems to have been right policy in him to adviſe that it ſhould be obſerved; as it was the only probable means of preſerving the public tranquillity.

A.U. 707. pey himſelf, (upon whom they ſeemed to make ſome impreſſion) as by thoſe who, depending upon his victory, thought it would afford them a very favourable opportunity of extricating themſelves from the difficulties of their private affairs, and of gratifying their immoderate ambition. The war therefore commenced without my participation: and I ſtill continued in Italy as long as I poſſibly could, even after Pompey was driven out of it [10]. My honour however at length prevailed over my fears: and I could not ſupport the thoughts of deſerting Pompey in *his* diſtreſs, who had not abandoned me in *mine*. Partly therefore upon a principle of duty; partly in tenderneſs to my reputation with the patriots; and partly as being aſhamed to forſake my friend, I went, as is fabled of Amphiaraus [11], to that ruin which I clearly foreſaw. And indeed there was not a ſingle misfortune attended us during that whole campaign, which I did not point out before it arrived. You ſee therefore, that I have the ſame right of being credited, which augurs and aſtrologers are wont to urge:

[10] See rem. 4. p. 141. of this vol.

[11] Amphiaraus was a Grecian prophet, as the poets feign, who foreknowing that he ſhould be killed if he went to the Theban war, concealed himſelf, in order to avoid that expedition. But his wife being bribed to diſcloſe the place of his concealment; he was forced to the war: and his death confirmed the truth of his prediction. *Manutius.*

and

and may claim your belief of my preſent predic- A.U. 707.
tions, in conſequence of the veracity of my former. But I do not found theſe my prophecies in your favour, on thoſe intimations of futurity, which are taught by our augural ſcience. I derive them from obſervations of a different ſort: which tho' not more certain in themſelves, are leſs obſcure however; and conſequently leſs liable to be miſinterpreted. The ſigns then from whence I draw my preſages, are of two kinds: the one taken from Cæſar himſelf, the other from the nature and circumſtances of public affairs. With reſpect to the former; they reſult, in the firſt place, from that general clemency of Cæſar's diſpoſition, which you have celebrated in that ingenious performance entitled your *Complaints* [12]; and in the next place, from that extraordinary regard he diſcovers for men of your diſtinguiſhed genius and abilities. To this I muſt add, that he will certainly yield to thoſe numberleſs ſollicitations in your favour which proceed, not from any intereſted motives, but from a real and juſt eſteem: among which the unanimous application of Etruria [13] will undoubtedly have great weight with him. If you aſk, whence it

[12] This ſeems to be the performance concerning which Cæcina writes to Cicero in the 30th letter of this book.

[13] Cæcina was a native of Etruria, and a perſon of great conſideration in that part of Italy.

A.U. 707. has happened, that theſe conſiderations have hitherto proved ineffectual? I anſwer, that Cæſar thinks if he ſhould immediately grant a pardon to you, againſt whom he may ſeem to have a more reaſonable ground of complaint; he could not refuſe it to others, whom he is leſs inclined to forgive. But you will ſay, perhaps, "If Cæſar "is thus incenſed, what have I to hope?" Undoubtedly, my friend, you have much: as he is ſenſible he muſt derive the brighteſt ſplendor of his fame, from the hand which once ſomewhat ſullied its luſtre. In fine, Cæſar is endowed with a moſt acute and penetrating judgment: and as he perfectly well knows, not only the high rank you bear in a very conſiderable diſtrict of Italy [14], but that there is no man in the commonwealth of your age, who is ſuperior to you in reputation, abilities, or popularity; he cannot but be convinced, that it will be impoſſible for him to render your exile of any long duration. He is too politic therefore to loſe the merit of voluntarily conferring upon you at preſent, what will otherwiſe moſt unqueſtionably be extorted from him hereafter.

Having thus marked out the favourable prognoſtics which I collect from circumſtances reſpecting Cæſar; I will now acquaint you with thoſe which I gather from the temper and com-

[14] Etruria.

plexion

plexion of the times. There is no man then A.U. 707.
ſo averſe to that cauſe which Pompey eſpouſed with more ſpirit indeed than preparation, as to venture to arraign the principles, or the patriotiſm of thoſe who joined in his party. And I cannot but obſerve to you, that I have often occaſion to admire the juſtice and judgment of Cæſar; who never ſpeaks of Pompey but in terms of the higheſt honour. Should it be ſaid, that whatever regard he may ſhew to his memory, he treated his perſon upon many occaſions with great aſperity: let it be remembered, that theſe inſtances cannot reaſonably be imputed to Cæſar, but were the natural conſequences of war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myſelf in particular, who were engaged in the ſame party? Has he not appointed Caſſius to be his lieutenant? has he not given the government of Gaul to Brutus? and that of Greece to Sulpicius? In a word, highly incenſed as he was againſt Marcellus, has he not in the moſt honourable manner, reſtored him to his friends and to his country? What I would infer therefore from the whole, is this; that whatever ſyſtem of government may prevail, good policy will never permit, in the firſt place, that a difference ſhould be made among thoſe who were equally involved in the ſame cauſe; and in the next, that a ſet of honeſt and worthy citizens, who are

free

A.U. 707. free from all imputation on their moral characters, ſhould be baniſhed from their country, at the ſame time that ſuch numbers of thoſe who have been exiled for the moſt infamous crimes, are ſuffered to return.

Theſe are the preſages of your friend: and they are preſages, of which if I had the leaſt doubt, I would by no means have laid them before you. On the contrary, I ſhould in that caſe rather have employed ſuch conſolatory arguments, as would unqueſtionably have proved effectual for the ſupport of a great and generous mind. I ſhould have told you, that if you were induced to take up arms in defence of the republic (as you then imagined) merely from a confidence of ſucceſs; ſmall indeed would be your merit: and that if under a full conviction of the very precarious event of war, you thought it poſſible that we might be defeated; it would be ſtrange that you ſhould have ſo much depended upon victory, as to be utterly unprepared for the reverſe. I ſhould have reaſoned with you on the conſolation you ought to receive, from reflecting on the integrity of your conduct: and reminded you of the ſatisfaction which the liberal arts will afford in the adverſe ſeaſons of life. I ſhould have produced examples not only from hiſtory, but in the perſons of our leaders and aſſociates

ciates in this unhappy war, of thoſe who have A.U. 707.
ſuffered the moſt ſevere calamities: and ſhould have alſo cited ſeveral illuſtrious inſtances of the ſame ſort from foreign ſtory. For to reflect on the misfortunes to which mankind in general are expoſed, greatly contributes to alleviate the weight of thoſe which we ourſelves endure. In ſhort, I ſhould have deſcribed the confuſion of that turbulent ſcene, in which we are here engaged: as undoubtedly the being driven from a commonwealth in ruins, is much leſs to be regretted than from one in a flouriſhing and a happy ſituation. But theſe are arguments which I have by no means any occaſion to urge: as I hope, or rather indeed as I clearly foreſee, that we ſhall ſoon welcome your return amongſt us. In the mean while, agreeably to the aſſurances I have often given you, I ſhall continue to exert my moſt active offices in the ſervice of yourſelf, and your excellent ſon: who, I muſt obſerve with pleaſure, is the very expreſs reſemblance of his father, both in perſon and genius. I ſhall now indeed be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, as I make great and daily advances in Cæſar's friendſhip; not to mention my intereſt alſo with his favourites, who diſtinguiſh me with the firſt rank in their affection. Be aſſured I ſhall devote the whole of my influence both with Cæſar and with his friends, entirely

A.U. 707. ly to your ſervice. In the mean time, let the pleaſing hopes you have ſo much reaſon to entertain, together with your own philoſophical fortitude, ſupport you with chearfulneſs under your preſent ſituation. Farewel.

LETTER XXXV.

To P. Servilius Isauricus [1], Proprætor.

I Perfectly well know the general compaſſion of your heart for the unfortunate, and the inviolable fidelity you obſerve towards thoſe who have any particular claim to your protection. As Cæcina therefore is a family-client of yours, I ſhould not recommend him to your favour, if the regard I pay to the memory of his father, with whom I lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy; and the unhappy fate which attends himſelf, with whom I am united by every tie of friendſhip and gratitude; did not affect me in the manner it ought. I am ſenſible that your own natural diſpoſition, without any ſollicitations, would incline you to aſſiſt a man of Cæcina's merit, in diſtreſs: but I earneſtly intreat you that this letter may render you ſtill more zealous to

[1] It appears by this letter, which is a recommendation of Cæcina to the governor of Aſia, that he had reſumed the deſign of going into that province; which in the 30th epiſtle of this book he tells Cicero he had laid aſide in purſuance of his advice.

confer

confer upon him every good office in your power. I am perſuaded if you had been in Rome, you would effectually have employed them alſo, in procuring his pardon: which, however, in confidence of your collegue's [2] clemency, we ſtill ſtrongly hope to obtain [3]. In the mean time, Cæcina has retreated into your province, not only as thinking it will afford him the ſecureſt refuge, but in purſuit likewiſe of that juſtice which he expects from the equity of your adminiſtration. I moſt warmly requeſt you therefore to aſſiſt him in recovering thoſe debts which remain due to him upon his former negotiations [4]; and in every other article to favour him with your patronage and protection: than which you cannot confer upon me, be aſſured, a more acceptable obligation. Farewel. A.U. 707.

[2] Servilius was collegue with Cæſar in his ſecond conſulate, A. U. 705.

[3] Accordingly Cæcina, ſome time afterwards, received his pardon from Cæſar: which Suetonius mentions as an inſtance, amongſt others, of that conqueror's ſingular clemency. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 75.

[4] Cæcina had probably been concerned in farming ſome branch of the Aſiatic revenue.

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LETTER XXXVI.

TO PUBLIUS SULPICIUS[1].

A.U. 707. NOtwithſtanding it is very ſeldom in the preſent ſituation of public affairs, that I attend the ſenate; yet after having received your letter, I thought it would not be acting agreeably to our long friendſhip, and to thoſe many good offices that have paſſed between us, if I did not contribute all in my power to the advancement of your honours. It was with much pleaſure therefore I went to the houſe, and voted for your public thankſgiving: which has been decreed accordingly. You will always find me equally zealous in whatever concerns your intereſt or your glory: and I ſhould be glad you would in your letters to your family, aſſure them of this my diſ-

[1] It is altogether uncertain who this Sulpicius was: perhaps the ſame who commanded a ſquadron of Cæſar's fleet off the iſland of Sicily, which engaged with and defeated the fleet under the command of Caſſius, about the time that Cæſar gained the battle of Pharſalia. But whoever he was, he appears from the preſent letter to have been governor of Illyricum, and to have lately had the honour of a public thankſgiving decreed for ſome ſucceſſes which his arms had obtained in that province. Some of the commentators are of opinion, that the ſuperſcription of this letter is a falſe reading; and that inſtead of *Sulpicius*, it ſhould be *Vatinius*: but thoſe who are inclined to ſee this notion very ſolidly confuted, are referred to the obſervations of Manutius upon this epiſtle. *Cæſ. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 101. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 449.

poſition

poſition towards you; that they may not ſcruple A.U. 707.
to claim my beſt ſervices, if in any future inſtance you ſhould have occaſion for them.

I very ſtrongly recommend to you my old friend Bolanus, as a man of great ſpirit and probity; and adorned likewiſe with every amiable accompliſhment. As you will extremely oblige me by letting him ſee that my recommendation ſhall have proved of ſingular advantage to him; ſo you may depend upon finding him of a moſt grateful diſpoſition, and one from whoſe friendſhip you will receive much ſatisfaction.

I have another favour likewiſe to aſk: which in confidence of our friendſhip, and of that diſpoſition which you have ever ſhewn to ſerve me, I very earneſtly requeſt. My library-keeper Dionyſius having ſtolen ſeveral books from that valuable collection which I entruſted to his care, has withdrawn himſelf into your province: as I am informed by my friend Bolanus, as well as by ſeveral others, who ſaw him at Narona [a]. But as they credited the account he gave them of my having granted him his freedom, they had no ſuſpicion of the true reaſon that carried him thither. I ſhall think myſelf inexpreſſibly indebted to you therefore, if you will deliver him

[a] In Liburnia, now called Croatia, which formed part of the province of Illyricum.

into

A.U. 707. into my hands: for altho' the loſs I have ſuſtained is not very great, yet his diſhoneſty gives me much vexation. Bolanus will inform you in what part of your province he is now concealed, and what meaſures will be proper in order to ſecure him. In the mean time let me repeat it again, that I ſhall look upon myſelf as highly indebted to you, if I ſhould recover this fellow by your aſſiſtance. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

To QUINTUS GALLIUS [a].

I Find by your letter, as well as by one which I have received from Oppius, that you did not forget my recommendation [b]: which indeed is nothing more than what I expected from your great affection towards me, and from the connection that ſubſiſts between us. Nevertheleſs I will again repeat my ſollicitations in favour of Oppius, who ſtill continues in your province; and of Egnatius, who remains at Rome: and intreat you to take their joint affairs under your protection. My friendſhip with Egnatius is ſo great, that were my own perſonal intereſt concerned in the preſent caſe, I could not be more anxious.

[a] See rem. [a] p. 313. of this vol.
[b] See let. 9. of this book.

I moſt earneſtly requeſt you therefore to A.U. 707.
ſhew him by your good offices, that I am not miſtaken in the ſhare which I perſuade myſelf I enjoy in your affection: and be aſſured, you cannot oblige me in a more acceptable manner. Farewel.

LETTERS
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero
TO
Several of his FRIENDS.

BOOK X.

LETTER I.

To AULUS TORQUATUS[1].

ALTHO' every one is apt in theſe times of univerſal confuſion, to regret his particular lot as ſingularly unfortunate, and to prefer any ſituation to his own; yet un- A.U. 707.

[1] Cicero mentions him in other parts of his writings, as a man of ſingular merit; and one to whoſe generous offices he had been greatly indebted during the perſecution he ſuffered from Clodius. In the year 701, Torquatus was advanced to the

A.U. 707. doubtedly a man of patriot-ſentiments can no where, in the preſent conjuncture, be ſo unhappily placed as in Rome. 'Tis true, into whatever part of the world he might be caſt, he muſt ſtill retain the ſame bitter ſenſibility of that ruin in which both himſelf and his country are involved. Nevertheleſs, there is ſomething in being a ſpectator of thoſe miſeries with which others are only acquainted by report, that extremely enhances one's grief: as it is impoſſible to divert our thoughts from misfortunes, which are perpetually obtruding themſelves in view. Among the many other loſſes therefore, which muſt neceſſarily ſit heavy upon your heart, let it not be your principal concern, (as I am informed it is) that you are driven from Rome. For notwithſtanding that you are thus exceedingly uneaſy at being ſeparated from your family and fortunes; yet they ſtill continue in their uſual ſituations: which as they could by no means be improved by your preſence, ſo neither are they expoſed to any particular danger. Whenever therefore your family

prætorſhip: after which nothing material occurs concerning him, till the preſent letter; by which it appears he was at this time in baniſhment at Athens, for having taken part with Pompey in the civil wars. He was of a very antient and illuſtrious family: being deſcended from the brave Titus Manlius, who in the year 394 obtained the name of *Torquatus*, from the *Torquis* or collar, which he took from the neck of a gigantic Gaul, whom he ſlew in ſingle combat. *Ad At.* v. 1. *Cic. de Finib.* ii. 22. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. p. 411. *Liv.* vii. 10.

are

are the ſubject of your thoughts, you ſhould neither lament them as ſuffering any calamities peculiar to themſelves, or conſider it as a hardſhip that they are not exempted from thoſe which are common to us all. A.U. 707.

As to what concerns your own perſon; you ought not, my dear Torquatus, to indulge thoſe gloomy reflections which either fear, or deſpair, may ſuggeſt. It is certain that He [2] from whom you have hitherto received a treatment unworthy of your illuſtrious character, has lately given very conſiderable marks of a more favourable diſpoſition. It is equally certain, that while we are looking up to Cæſar for our preſervation, he is far from being clear by what methods he may beſt ſecure his own. The event of every war is always precarious: but with regard to the preſent [3]; as I well know that you yourſelf never imagined you had any thing to fear if the victory ſhould turn on one ſide; ſo I am perſuaded, ſhould it fall on the other, you can only ſuffer in the general ruin. The ſingle circumſtance then that can give you much diſquietude, is that which in ſome ſort I look upon as a kind of conſolation: I mean, that the danger to which you are expoſed, is no other than what threatens the whole community. And this,

[2] Cæſar.

[3] The war in Spain between Cæſar and the ſons of Pompey.

A.U. 707. it muſt be acknowledged, is ſo extremely great, that whatever philoſophers may pretend, I queſtion whether any thing can effectually ſupport us under it, except one conſideration alone: a conſideration which is always more or leſs efficacious, in proportion to the ſtrength and firmneſs of a man's own mind. But if to mean honeſtly, and to act rightly, be all that is neceſſary to conſtitute human happineſs; it ſhould ſeem a ſort of impiety to call that man miſerable, who is conſcious of having always regulated his conduct by the beſt intentions. It was not, I am perſuaded, any private advantage which we promiſed ourſelves from the ſucceſs of our arms, that induced us lately to abandon our fortunes, our families, and our country [4]: it was the juſt ſenſe of that ſacred regard we owed both to the commonwealth and to our own characters. Nor when we acted thus, were we ſo abſurdly ſanguine as to flatter ourſelves with the proſpect of certain victory. If the event then has proved agreeable to what upon our firſt entrance into the war, we were well aware it poſſibly might; we ought by no means, ſurely, to be as much diſpirited, as if the reverſe of all that we expected had befallen us. Let us then, my friend, cheriſh thoſe ſentiments which true philoſophy preſcribes, by

[4] Upon the firſt breaking out of the civil war; when Cicero and Torquatus left Italy in order to join the army of Pompey in Greece.

eſteeming

eſteeming it our only concern in this life, to pre- A.U. 707.
ſerve our integrity: and ſo long as we are void of all juſt reproach, let us bear the various revolutions of human affairs with calmneſs and moderation. The ſum of what I would ſay, in ſhort, is this: that virtue ſeems ſufficient for her own ſupport, tho' all things elſe were utterly loſt. Still however, if any hopes ſhould yet remain to the republic, you ſhould by no means deſpair, whatever its future ſituation may be, of holding the rank in it you deſerve.

And here, my friend, it occurs to me, that there was a time when you likewiſe uſed to condemn my deſpondency: and when I was full of apprehenſions, and altogether undetermined how to act, you inſpired me by your advice and example with more ſpirited and vigorous reſolutions. At that ſeaſon it was not our cauſe, but our meaſures, I diſapproved. I thought it much too late to oppoſe thoſe victorious arms which we ourſelves had long been contributing to ſtrengthen: and I lamented that we ſhould refer the deciſion of our political diſputes, not to the weight of our counſels, but to the force of our ſwords. I do not pretend to have been inſpired with a ſpirit of divination, when I foretold what has ſince happened: I only ſaw the poſſibility and deſtructive conſequences of ſuch an event. And it was this that alarmed my fears:

A.U. 707. eſpecially as it was a contingency, of all others, the moſt likely to take effect. For the ſtrength of our party, I well knew, was of a kind that would little avail us in the field: as our troops were far inferior both in force and experience, to thoſe of our adverſaries. The ſame ſpirit and reſolution then, which you recommended to me at that juncture, let me now exhort you, in my turn, to aſſume in the preſent.

I was induced to write to you upon this ſubject, by a converſation I lately had with your freedman Philargyrus. In anſwer to the very particular inquiries I made concerning your welfare, he informed me (and I had no reaſon to ſuſpect his veracity) that you were at ſome ſeaſons exceedingly dejected. This is a ſtate of mind you ſhould by no means encourage. For if the republic ſhould in any degree ſubſiſt, you have no reaſon to doubt of recovering the rank you deſerve: and ſhould it be deſtroyed, your particular condition will be no worſe, at leaſt, than that of every Roman in general. As to the important affair now depending [5], and for the event of which we are all of us in ſo much anxiety; this is a circumſtance which you ought to bear with the greater tranquillity, as you are in a city where philoſophy, that ſupreme guide and governeſs of human life, not only received her

[5] The war in Spain.

birth,

birth, but her beſt and nobleſt improvements [6]. A.U. 707.
But beſides this advantage, you enjoy the company likewiſe of Sulpicius [7]: that wiſe and favourite friend, from whoſe kind and prudent offices you muſt undoubtedly receive great conſolation. And had we all of us lately been ſo politic as to have followed his advice, we ſhould have choſen rather to have ſubmitted to the civil, than to the military power of Cæſar [8].

But I have dwelt longer, perhaps, upon this ſubject than was neceſſary: I will diſpatch therefore what is more material in fewer words. How much I owed to ſome of thoſe friends, whom the fate of this cruel war has ſnatched from me; you perfectly well know: but I have now none remaining from whom I have received greater obligations than from yourſelf. I am ſenſible at the ſame time, how little my power can at preſent avail: but as no man can be ſo totally fallen,

[6] The Athenians (among whom Torquatus, as has been obſerved above, at this time reſided) were ſuppoſed to have been the firſt who inſtructed mankind, not only in the refinements of poetry, oratory, and philoſophy, but in manufactures, agriculture, and civil government. Athens, in ſhort, was eſteemed by the antients to be the ſource, as it was unqueſtionably the ſeat, of all thoſe uſeful or polite arts which moſt contribute to the eaſe and ornament of human life. *Juſtin.* ii. 6. *Lucret.* vi. 1. &c.

[7] Sulpicius was at Athens, as governor of Greece. See rem. 1. p. 283. of this vol.

[8] This alludes to the oppoſition which Sulpicius made to the propoſal of recalling Cæſar from his government in Gaul, juſt before the commencement of the civil war. See rem. 2. p. 120. of this vol.

A.U. 707. as not to be capable of effecting ſomewhat at leaſt by his earneſt endeavours; be aſſured that both you and yours have an unqueſtionable right to the beſt and moſt zealous of mine. Farewel.

LETTER II.

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

MAnius Curius[9], a merchant of Patræ, is a perſon whom I have many and great reaſons to value. The friendſhip between us has long continued: ſo long indeed, as from his firſt appearance in the forum. He has formerly at different junctures, and lately during this unhappy civil war, offered me an aſylum at Patræ: and I ſhould have uſed his houſe with the ſame freedom as my own, if I had found occaſion. But my ſtrongeſt connection with him reſults from a motive of a more ſacred kind; as it ariſes from his intimacy with my friend Atticus: for whom he entertains a very ſingular affection and eſteem. If Curius is known to you, I imagine I am paying him the tribute of my good offices ſomewhat too late: for I dare ſay his polite and elegant manners have already recommended him to your regard. However, ſhould this prove to be the caſe; I very earneſtly intreat you to ſuffer this

[9] This is the ſame perſon to whom the 25th letter of the preceding book is addreſſed. See rem. 6. p. 361. of this vol.

letter

letter to confirm and increaſe the favourable diſ- A.U. 707.
poſition you have conceived towards him. But if his modeſty has concealed him from your notice, or you have only a ſlight acquaintance with him, or for any other reaſon a farther recommendation may be neceſſary; I moſt warmly and moſt deſervedly give him mine. I will be anſwerable too (as every one ought indeed whoſe offices of this kind are ſincere and diſintereſted) that you will experience ſo much politeneſs and probity in Curius, as to convince you that he is worthy both of my recommendation, and of your friendſhip. In the mean time, be aſſured you will very ſenſibly oblige me, if I ſhould find that this letter ſhall have had all the influence with you which I confidently expect. Farewel.

LETTER III.

To AULUS TORQUATUS.

IT was more in compliance with the affection of my heart, than as thinking it in the leaſt neceſſary, that I detained you ſo long in my laſt [1]. Your fortitude wants not to be animated by any exhortations of mine: and indeed I am in every reſpect too much diſtreſſed myſelf,

[1] The firſt letter of the preſent book.

to

A.U. 707. to be capable of encouraging another. But whatever reaſon there might, or might not have been for the length of my former letter; I am ſure it may well excuſe me from extending my preſent; nothing new having ſince occurred. For as to the various and contradictory reports, which are every day propagated amongſt us, concerning affairs in Spain; I imagine they are ſpread likewiſe into your part of the world. They will all terminate however in the ſame fatal cataſtrophe: a cataſtrophe, which I no leſs clearly diſcern (and I am well aſſured it is equally viſible to yourſelf) than if it were now actually before my view. 'Tis true, no one can determine what will be the event of the approaching battle: but as to that of the war in general, I have no manner of doubt; at leaſt none with reſpect to its conſequences. For one ſide or the other muſt certainly be victorious: and I am well convinced of the uſe that either party will make of their ſucceſs. Such an uſe indeed, that I had rather ſuffer what is generally eſteemed the moſt terrible of all evils, than live to be a ſpectator of ſo dreadful a ſcene. Yes, my friend, life upon the terms on which we muſt then endure it, would be the completion of human miſery: whereas death was never conſidered by any wiſe man as an evil, even to the happy themſelves.

But

But you are in a city where the very walls will A.U. 707.
inſpire you with theſe and other reflections of the ſame tendency, in a far more efficacious manner than I can ſuggeſt them [2]. I will only therefore aſſure you (unſubſtantial as the conſolation is which ariſes from the misfortunes of others) that you are at preſent in no greater danger than any of thoſe of the ſame party, who have either totally renounced the war, or who are ſtill in arms: as they are both under equal apprehenſions from the victor. But there is another and far higher conſolation, which I hope is *your* ſupport, as it certainly is mine. For ſo long as I ſhall preſerve my innocence, I will never whilſt I exiſt be anxiouſly diſturbed at any event that may happen: and if I ſhould ceaſe to exiſt; all ſenſibility muſt ceaſe with me [a]. But I am again returning to my unneceſſary reflections, and, in the language of the old proverb, am "ſending owls to "Athens [3]." To put an end to them; be aſſured that the welfare of yourſelf and family, together with the ſucceſs of all your concerns, is my great and principal care; and ſhall continue to be ſo to the end of my days. Farewel.

[2] See rem. 6. p. 409. of this vol.
[a] See rem. 6. p. 232. of this vol.
[3] See rem. 8. p. 236. of this vol.

LET-

LETTER IV.

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

A.U. 707. YOUR very polite and obliging letter to Atticus, afforded him great ſatisfaction: but not more than I received from it myſelf. It was indeed equally agreeable to us both. But altho' we neither of us doubted that you would readily comply with any requeſt he ſhould make; yet your having voluntarily and unexpectedly offered him your ſervices, was a circumſtance, I muſt acknowledge, that raiſed Atticus's admiration leſs than mine. As you have given him the moſt ample aſſurances therefore of your good offices; it is unneceſſary that I ſhould deſire you to add any thing to them from your regard to me. It would be no leſs impertinent likewiſe to ſend you my acknowledgments upon this occaſion: as your offer was entirely the ſpontaneous reſult of your particular friendſhip to Atticus. This however, I will ſay, that as ſuch an uncommon proof of your eſteem for a man whom I ſingularly love and value, could not but be highly agreeable to me; ſo it is an obligation I muſt neceſſarily place to my own account. And indeed as I may take the liberty from the intimacy

macy between us, to tranſgreſs the ſtrict rules of propriety; I ſhall venture to do the two things which I juſt now declared were both improper and unneceſſary. Accordingly let me requeſt, in the firſt place, that you would add as much as poſſible to thoſe ſervices for my ſake, with which you have ſhewn yourſelf willing to favour Atticus for his own: and in the next place, deſire your acceptance of my acknowledgments for thoſe which you have already ſo generouſly promiſed him. And be aſſured, whatever good offices you ſhall render to Atticus in regard to his affairs in Epirus [4], or upon any other occaſion, will be ſo many obligations conferred upon myſelf. Farewel. A.U. 707.

[4] Epirus was contiguous to Greece, and annexed to the government of that province. It is now called *Janna*, and is under the dominion of the Turks. A conſiderable part of Atticus's eſtate lay in this country. *Nepos in vit. At.* 14.

LET-

LETTER V.

To the Same.

A.U. 707. I Have long been united with Lyſo, a citizen of Patræ, by ties which I deem of ſacred obligation: the ties, I mean, of hoſpitality [5]. This is a ſort of connection, 'tis true, in which I am engaged alſo with many others: but I never contracted with any of my hoſts ſo ſtrict an intimacy. The many good offices I received from Lyſo, together with the habitudes of a daily intercourſe, improved our acquaintance into the higheſt degree of friendſhip: and indeed during the whole year he reſided here, we were ſcarce ever ſeparated. We neither of us doubted that my former letter would have the effect I find it has, and induce you to take his affairs under your protection in his abſence. Nevertheleſs, as he had appeared in arms in favour of our party; we were under perpetual apprehenſions of *His* reſentment, in whom all power is now centered. But Lyſo's illuſtrious rank, together with the zealous applications of myſelf and the reſt of thoſe who have ſhared in his generous hoſpitality, have at length

[5] See rem. 3. p. 113 of this vol.

obtained all that we could wiſh: as you will perceive by the letter which Cæſar himſelf has written to you. I am ſo far however, from thinking him in circumſtances that will allow me to releaſe you from any part of my former ſollicitation; that I now more ſtrongly requeſt you to receive him into your patronage and friendſhip. Whilſt his fate was yet in ſuſpence, I was leſs forward in claiming your good offices; being cautious of giving you a trouble which poſſibly might prove to no purpoſe. But as his pardon is abſolutely confirmed, I moſt ardently intreat your beſt ſervices in his behalf. Not to enumerate particulars, I recommend to you his whole family in general, but more eſpecially his ſon. My old client Memmius Gemellus [6], having been preſented with the freedom of the city of Patræ during his unhappy baniſhment, adopted this young man according to the forms preſcribed by the laws of that community: and I beſeech you to ſupport him in his right of ſucceeding to the eſtate of his adoptive father. But above all, as I have thoroughly experienced the merit and grateful diſpoſition of Lyſo, let me conjure you to admit him into a ſhare of your friendſhip. I am perſuaded if you ſhould do ſo, you will here- A.U. 707.

[6] Probably the ſame perſon to whom the 27th let. of the 3d book is addreſſed. See rem. 5. p. 281. vol. i.

A.U. 707. after look upon him with the ſame affection, and recommend him with as much zeal as I have expreſſed in the preſent inſtance. There is nothing indeed I more earneſtly wiſh than to raiſe in you this diſpoſition towards him: as I fear if you ſhould not confer upon him your beſt ſervices, he will ſuſpect, not that you are unmindful of my recommendations, but that I did not ſufficiently enforce them. For he muſt be perfectly ſenſible, not only from what he has frequently heard me declare, but from your own obliging letters to me, of the ſingular ſhare I enjoy in your friendſhip and eſteem. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

To the Same.

ASCLAPO, a phyſician of Patræ, is my very particular friend: to whoſe company, as well as ſkill in his profeſſion, I have been much endebted. I had occaſion to experience the latter, in my own family: and had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with his knowledge, his integrity and his tenderneſs. I recommend him therefore to your favour: and intreat you to let him ſee by the effects of this letter, that I did

ſo

ſo in the ſtrongeſt manner. Your compliance with this requeſt will oblige me exceedingly. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER VII.

To the Same.

MArcus Æmilius Avianus has diſtinguiſhed me from his earlieſt youth, with peculiar marks of affection and eſteem. He is a man not only of great politeneſs, but probity; and indeed in every view of his character is extremely amiable. If I imagined he were at Sicyon [7], I ſhould think it utterly unneceſſary to add any thing farther in his behalf; being well perſuaded that the elegance and integrity of his manners would be ſufficient of themſelves to recommend him to the ſame degree of *your* affection, which he poſſeſſes, not only of mine, but of every one of his friends in general. But as I hear he ſtill continues at Cybira, where I left him ſome time ago [8]; I moſt ſtrongly recommend his affairs and family at Sicyon, to your favour and protection. Among theſe I muſt particularly ſingle out his

[7] A city in the Peloponneſus, now called *Batilica*.

[8] Cybira was a city of Lycaonia annexed to the government of Cicilia: Cicero alludes to the time when he was proconſul of that province.

A.U. 707. freedman Hammonius, as one who has a claim to my recommendation upon his own account. He has gained my good opinion, not only by his uncommon zeal and fidelity towards his patron, but by the very important ſervices likewiſe which he has conferred upon myſelf. Indeed, had it been to me that he had been endebted for the privilege of his freedom, he could not have acted with a more faithful and affectionate aſſiduity than I experienced from him in my troubles [9]. In the firſt place then, I intreat your protection of Hammonius as agent in the affairs of his patron: and in the next, I recommend him upon his own account as worthy to be received into the number of your friends. Believe me you will find him of a modeſt, obliging temper, and well deſerving a place in your affection. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

To the Same.

I Have a very great regard for Titus Manlius, a merchant of Theſpiæ; not only as one from whom I have always received ſingular marks of conſideration and eſteem, but as he is an admirer alſo of our favourite ſtudies. To

[9] During his perſecution by Clodius.

this I muſt add, that my friend Varro Murena very warmly eſpouſes his intereſt. And tho' Murena has full confidence in the effect of that letter which he has himſelf written to you in favour of Manlius; yet he is perſuaded that my recommendation likewiſe may ſomewhat increaſe your diſpoſition to aſſiſt him. In compliance therefore with my deſire of ſerving both Murena and Manlius, I recommend the letter to you in the ſtrongeſt terms: and you will greatly oblige me by promoting the intereſt and honours of Manlius, in every inſtance conſiſtent with your own character and dignity. I will venture to aſſure you likewiſe, from the knowledge I have of his polite and humanized diſpoſition, that your good offices towards him will be attended with all the ſatisfaction you can promiſe yourſelf from the gratitude of a worthy man. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER IX.

To the Same.

MY friend and tribe-fellow [1], Lucius Coſſinius, is one with whom I have long liv-

[1] The collective body of the Roman people was divided into 35 tribes: and every citizen of whatever rank, was neceſſarily enrolled under one or other of theſe ſeveral claſſes. They were each diſtinguiſhed by a particular name, as the

A.U. 707. ed in great intimacy: and which his connection with Atticus has contributed ſtill farther to improve. I enjoy the affection of his whole family, but particularly of his freedman Anchialus; who is highly in the eſteem, not only of his patron, but of all his patron's friends: in which number I have already mentioned myſelf. I recommend Anchialus therefore to your favour with as much warmth, as if he ſtood in the ſame relation to me, that he does to Coſſinius. You will oblige me indeed in a very ſenſible manner by receiving him into your friendſhip, and giving him any aſſiſtance he may require: as far, I mean, as your own convenience will admit. And you will hereafter, I am perſuaded, receive much ſatisfaction from your compliance with this requeſt: as you will find Anchialus to be a man of the greateſt politeneſs and probity. Farewel.

LETTER X.

To the Same.

THE pleaſure I took in the reflection of having written to you in behalf of my

Tribus Popilia, Tribus Velina, &c. which name was derived either from the place which the tribe principally inhabited, or from ſome diſtinguiſhed family it contained. *Roſin. Antiq. Rom.*

friend

friend and hoſt Lyſo, was much increaſed when A.U. 707.
I read his letter: and I particularly rejoiced in having ſo ſtrongly recommended him to your eſteem, when I found he had before been a ſufferer in your good opinion. For my recommendation, he tells me, was of ſingular advantage in removing the groundleſs ſuſpicion you had entertained of him, from a report that he had frequently, whilſt he was at Rome, treated your character in a diſreſpectful manner. Let me in the firſt place then, return you thoſe thanks which I ſo juſtly owe you for ſuffering my letter to efface every remaining impreſſion of this injurious calumny. And in the next place, altho' Lyſo aſſures me that, agreeably to your well-natur'd and generous diſpoſition, he has entirely ſatisfied you of his innocence, yet I intreat you to believe me when I proteſt, not only in juſtice to my friend, but to the world in general, that I never heard any man mention you without the higheſt applauſe. As to Lyſo in particular, in all the daily converſations we had together whilſt he continued here, you were the perpetual ſubject of his encomiums; both as he imagined that I heard them with pleaſure, and as it was a topic extremely agreeable likewiſe to himſelf. But tho' he is fully ſatisfied with the effects of my former letter; and I am ſenſible that the generous manner in

A.U. 707. which you treat him, renders all farther application perfectly unneceſſary; yet I cannot forbear renewing my earneſt ſollicitations that you would continue your favours towards him. I would again alſo repreſent to you how well he deſerves them, if I did not imagine you were by this time ſufficiently acquainted with his merit. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

To the Same.

HAgeſaretus of Lariſſa [3] having received conſiderable honours from me during my conſulate, has ever ſince diſtinguiſhed me with ſingular marks of gratitude and reſpect. I ſtrongly recommend him therefore to you as my hoſt and friend; as a man of an honeſt and grateful heart; as a perſon of principal rank in his native city; and, in ſhort, as one who is altogether worthy of being admitted into your friendſhip. And I ſhall be exceedingly obliged to you for

[3] There were two cities of this name in Theſſaly: a country contiguous to Greece, and which formerly made part of the kingdom of Macedonia. One of theſe cities was ſituated upon the river Peneas, and is now called Larſa: the other was a maritime town. Geographers ſuppoſe the latter to be the preſent *Armino*: a conſiderable ſea port belonging to the Turks.

letting

letting him ſee, that you pay regard to this my recommendation. Farewel. A.U. 707.

LETTER XII.

To the Same.

THE connection between Lucius Meſcinius and myſelf, reſults from no leſs powerful a tie than that of his having been formerly my quæſtor [4]. But tho' I always conſidered a relation of this kind in the high regard it was viewed by our anceſtors; yet the refined and elegant virtues of Meſcinius [5] rendered it ſtill more juſtly ſacred. Accordingly there is no man with whom I live in a higher degree of intimacy, or from whoſe friendſhip I derive greater ſatisfaction. He doubts not of your diſpoſition to ſerve him upon every occaſion that ſhall comport with your honour: however, he is perſuaded, that a letter from my hand will conſiderably ſtrengthen your inclinations for that purpoſe. This he collects not only from his own obſervation, but from thoſe frequent declarations he has heard me make, of the very pleaſing and intimate friendſhip in which

[4] See rem. 1. p. 91. of this vol.

[5] The reader will find by the remark referred to in the laſt note, how little there was of truth and ſincerity in the character which Cicero here beſtows upon his friend.

you

A.U. 707. you and I are ſo ſtrictly joined. I am to inform you then, that his late brother, who was a merchant in Elis [6], has left him his eſtate: and I intreat you, with all the warmth which you are ſenſible ought to animate me in the concerns of a friend to whom I am ſo ſtrongly and cloſely attached, that you would aſſiſt him with your power, your influence, and your advice in ſettling theſe his affairs in your province. In view to this, we have ſent directions to his agent, that if any diſputes ſhould ariſe concerning the eſtate or effects of the teſtator, that they ſhall be guided by your ſentiments, and (if it be not troubling you too much) determined by your arbitration: an office which I earneſtly intreat you to undertake; and the acceptance of which I ſhall eſteem as an honour done to myſelf. But if any of the claimants ſhould be ſo obſtinate as to refuſe your award; I ſhall receive it as a ſingular obligation if you will refer their pretenſions (provided you ſhall not think it a derogation from your dignity) to be determined in the courts at Rome: as the matter in conteſt is with a Roman ſenator. That you may the leſs ſcruple to comply with this requeſt, I have procured a ſort of recommendatory letter to you from the conſul Lepi-

[6] A city in the Peloponneſus.

dus.

dus [7]. I ſay a *recommendatory* one; for to have A.U. 707.
deſired him to write in a more authoritative ſtyle, would not, I thought, be treating your high ſtation with the deference which is ſo juſtly due to it. I would add, that your obliging Meſcinius in this inſtance, will be laying out your favours to much advantage; if I were not, on the one hand, well perſuaded that this is a circumſtance of which you are already appriſed; and on the other, were I not ſolliciting you as for an affair of my own. For be aſſured, I take an equal concern with Meſcinius in every article wherein he is intereſted. As I am very deſirous therefore, that he may obtain his right with as little trouble as poſſible; ſo I am ſollicitous likewiſe that he ſhould have reaſon to think, that my recommendation has greatly contributed to this end. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

To the Same.

THE regard you pay to my recommendations, has given me, and will hereafter give me, I dare ſay, frequent occaſions of repeating my acknowledgments. However, I will attempt,

[7] He was this year appointed by Cæſar to be his colleague in the conſular office. *Plut. in Vit. Anton.*

if

A.U. 707. if poſſible, to convey my thanks to you in a ſtyle as various as the ſeveral inſtances that demand them: and, in imitation of you lawyers [2], expreſs the ſame thing in different words.

I have received a letter from Hammonius, full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of gratitude for the ſervices you have rendered both to him and Avianus, in conſequence of my recommendation [9]: and he aſſures me that nothing can be more generous than the perſonal civilities you have ſhewn to himſelf, as well as the attention you have given to the affairs of his patron. This would afford me a very ſenſible pleaſure, were I to conſider it only as a benefit to thoſe to whom I have the ſtrongeſt attachments: as indeed Avianus has diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all my friends by his ſuperior ſenſibility of the many and great obligations I have conferred upon him. But my ſatisfaction ſtill increaſes, when I view it as an inſtance of my ſtanding ſo high in your eſteem, as to incline you to ſerve my friends more efficaciouſly than I myſelf ſhould, perhaps, were I preſent for that purpoſe. Poſſibly the reaſon of your having this advantage over me, may be, that I ſhould not yield altogether ſo eaſily to their requeſts, as you comply with mine. But what-

[2] Sulpicius was one of the moſt conſiderable lawyers of the age. See rem. 6. p. 287. of this vol.

[9] See the 7th let. of this Book.

ever

ever doubt I may have as to that point, I have none of your being perſuaded that I entertain the ſentiments of your favours they deſerve: and I intreat you to believe (what I will be anſwerable is the truth) that both Avianus and Hammonius have received them with the ſame grateful diſpoſition. I beſeech you then, if it be not engaging you in too much trouble, that you would endeavour that their affairs may be ſettled before you leave the province. A.U. 707.

I live in a moſt agreeable intimacy with your ſon; whoſe genius and uncommon application, but above all, his probity and virtue, afford me a very ſenſible pleaſure. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

To the Same.

IT is always with much pleaſure that I apply to you in behalf of my friends: but I find a ſtill greater in expreſſing my gratitude for thoſe favours you yield to my ſolicitations. This indeed is a pleaſure, with which you never fail of ſupplying me: and it is incredible what acknowledgments I receive, even from perſons whom I have but ſlightly mentioned to you. I think myſelf greatly indebted for theſe inſtances of your friendſhip:

A.U. 707. ſhip: but particularly for thoſe good offices you have conferred upon Meſcinius. He informs me that immediately upon the receipt of my letter[1], you gave his agents full aſſurance of your ſervices; and have ſince performed even more than you promiſed. Believe me, (and I cannot too often repeat it) you have by theſe means laid an obligation upon me of the moſt acceptable kind: and it affords me ſo much the higher ſatisfaction, as I am perſuaded Meſcinius will give you abundant reaſon to rejoice in it yourſelf. Virtue and probity, in truth, are the prevailing qualities of his heart; as an obliging and friendly officiouſneſs is his diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. To this I muſt add, that he is particularly devoted to our favourite ſpeculations: thoſe philoſophical ſpeculations, my friend, which were always the delight, as they are now alſo the ſupport and conſolation of my life. Let me intreat you then to give him freſh inſtances of your generoſity upon every occaſion, wherein it ſhall not be inconſiſtent with your dignity to interpoſe. But there are two articles in which I will particularly requeſt it. The firſt is, that if thoſe who are indebted to the eſtate of his teſtator, ſhould inſiſt upon being indemnified in their pay-

[1] The 12th let. of this book.

ments

ments to Meſcinius; that my ſecurity may A.U. 707.
be accepted: and the next is, that as the greateſt part of the teſtator's effects are ſecreted by his wife, that you would aſſiſt in concerting meaſures for ſending her to Rome. Should ſhe be once perſuaded, that this method will be taken with her, we doubt not of her ſettling every thing to the ſatisfaction of Meſcinius: and that it may be ſo, I moſt ſtrongly again requeſt the interpoſition of your good offices. In the mean time, I will be anſwerable for what I juſt now aſſured you, that the gratitude and other amiable qualities of Meſcinius, will give you reaſon to think your favours were not ill beſtowed: which I mention as a motive on his own account, to be added to thoſe which induced you to ſerve him upon mine.

I am perſuaded that the Lacedæmonians doubt not of being ſufficiently recommended to your juſtice and patronage, by their own and their anceſtors virtues: and I know you too well to queſtion your being perfectly acquainted with the national rights and merit of every people who are connected with the republic. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the great obligations I have received from the citizens of Lacedæmon, yet when Philippus requeſted me to recommend them to your protection; my anſwer was, that the Lacedæmonians

A.U. 707. cedæmonians could not poſſibly ſtand in need of an advocate with Sulpicius. The truth is, I look upon it as a circumſtance of ſingular advantage to all the cities of Achaia [2] in general, that you preſide over them in theſe turbulent times: and I am perſuaded that you who are ſo peculiarly converſant, not only in the Roman but Grecian annals, cannot but be a friend to the Lacedæmonians, for the ſake of their heroic deſcent. I will only therefore intreat you, that when you are acting towards them in conſequence of what your juſtice and honour requires, you would at the ſame time intimate, that you receive an additional pleaſure from indulging your own inclinations of that ſort, by knowing them to be agreeable likewiſe to mine. As I think myſelf obliged to ſhew this city that their concerns are part of my care, it is with much earneſtneſs I make this requeſt. Farewel.

[2] Greece.

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LETTER XV.

To Lepta [3].

THE moment I received your letter from the hands of Seleucus, I diſpatched a note to Balbus, to inquire the purport of the law you mention [4]. His anſwer was, that ſuch perſons as at preſent exerciſe the office of præco [5], are expreſly excluded from being decurii [6]: but this prohibition extended not to thoſe who had formerly been engaged in that employment. Let not our friends then be diſcouraged. It would indeed have been intolerable, that a parcel of paltry fortune-tellers ſhould be thought worthy of A.U. 708.

[3] Cicero mentions a perſon of this name in a former letter, who appears to have been his *Præfectus Fabrum*, or what might be called, perhaps, in modern language, the commander of his train of artillery, when he was governor of Cilicia. It is probable therefore, as Manutius conjectures, that he is the ſame perſon to whom this letter is addreſſed. *Vid. Epiſt. Fam.* iii. 7.

[4] Manutius very juſtly obſerves, that this could not be a law which Cæſar had actually paſſed, but one which he intended, perhaps, to enact when he ſhould return from Spain: for if it had been actually promulgated, Cicero could have had no occaſion to apply to Balbus for his intelligence.

[5] The office of *præco* ſeems to have been much in the nature of a cryer in our courts of juſtice: but not altogether ſo low in repute.

[6] A decurio was, in a corporate city, the ſame as a ſenator of Rome: that is, a member of the public council of the community.

A.U. 708. being admitted into the ſenate of Rome [7], at the ſame time that having formerly acted as a præco, ſhould diſqualify a man for being member of the council of a country corporation.

We have no news from Spain: all that we know with certainty is, that young Pompey has drawn together a very conſiderable army. This we learn from a letter of Paciæcus [8] to Cæſar; a copy whereof Cæſar himſelf has tranſmitted to us: in which it is affirmed that Pompey is at the head of eleven legions [9]. Meſſala in a letter he lately wrote to Quintus Salaſſus, informs him that his brother Publius Curtius has been executed by the command of Pompey, in the preſence of his whole army. This man had entered, it ſeems, into a conſpiracy with ſome Spaniards, by which it was agreed, in caſe Pompey ſhould march into a certain village for proviſion, to ſeize upon

[7] This is a ſneer upon Cæſar, who had introduced perſons of the loweſt rank and character into the Roman ſenate. See rem. 9. p. 134. of this vol.

[8] He was a native of Spain, and a perſon of great note in that province. Cæſar entruſted him with a very conſiderable command, in the expedition againſt the ſons of Pompey. *Hirt. de Bell. Hiſp.* 3.

[9] The number of horſe and foot in a Roman legion varied in different periods of the republic. In its loweſt computation it appears to have amounted to 3000 foot and 200 horſe; and in its higheſt to have riſen to 6000 of the former, and 400 of the latter. *Roſin. Antiq. Rom.* 964.

his perſon and deliver him into the hands of Cæſar. A.U. 708.

In relation to the ſecurity in which you ſtand engaged for Pompey; you may depend upon it, as ſoon as Galba, who is jointly bound with you, returns hither, I ſhall not fail to conſult with him about meaſures for ſettling that affair. He ſeemed, I remember, to imagine that it might be adjuſted: and you know he is a man who ſpares no pains where his money is concerned.

It gives me much pleaſure to find, that you ſo highly approve of my [10] *Orator*. Whatever ſkill I have in the art, I have diſplayed it all in that treatiſe: and if the commendations you beſtow upon it are not too partial, I cannot but ſet ſome value upon my judgment. To ſpeak truth, I am willing to reſt all my reputation of this kind, upon the merit of that performance. I hope my little favourite your ſon, already diſcovers ſome reliſh for writings of this ſort: and altho' he is yet too young to enter far into theſe ſtudies, yet it will be no diſadvantage to him to begin thus early to form his taſte by compoſitions of this nature.

[10] This elegant and judicious piece is inſcribed to Brutus, and was written in anſwer to a queſtion he had often propoſed to Cicero, concerning the nobleſt and moſt perfect ſpecies of eloquence.

A.U. 708. I have been detained at Rome on account of my daughter Tullia's lying-in. But tho' ſhe is now, I hope, out of all danger; yet I ſtill wait here in expectation of my firſt payment from the agents of Dolabella [11]: and to tell you the truth, I am not ſo fond of changing the ſcene as formerly. The amuſement I found in my country houſes, together with the ſweets of retirement, were wont heretofore to draw me frequently out of Rome. But the ſituation of my preſent houſe is altogether as pleaſant as that of any of my villas. I am indeed as much retired here, as if I lived in the moſt unfrequented deſart; and carry on my ſtudies without the leaſt interruption. I believe therefore that I have a better chance of a viſit from you in Rome, than you have of ſeeing me in the country.

I would recommend Heſiod to the agreeable little Lepta, as an author which he ought to retain by heart: and particularly let him always have in his mouth thoſe noble lines,

High on a rugged rock, &c [12].

Farewel.

[11] This ſeems to intimate that there had been a divorce between Dolabella and Tullia: as it was uſual in caſes of that kind for the huſband to return the portion he had received from his wife, at three annual payments. See rem. 2. p. 4. and rem. 4. p. 7. of vol. iii.

[12] The paſſage in Heſiod at which Cicero hints, is to the following purpoſe:

High on a rugged rock the gods ordain,
Majeſtic virtue ſhall her throne maintain:

LET-

LETTER XVI.

To Aulus Torquatus.

THERE is no news to ſend you: and indeed if there were any, yet all accounts of that kind, I know, are uſually tranſmitted to you by your own family. As to what may hereafter happen; tho' it is always difficult to determine concerning future events; yet when they are not placed at too great a diſtance, one may ſometimes form a tolerable gueſs. At preſent, however, all I can conjecture is, that the war is not likely to be drawn out into any great length: tho' I muſt acknowledge, there are ſome who think differently. I am even inclined to believe, that there has already been an engagement: but I do not give you this as a fact; I mention it only as extremely probable. The event of war is always precarious: but in the preſent inſtance the number of forces is ſo conſiderable on each ſide, and there is ſuch a general ſpirit, it is ſaid, in both armies, of coming to action, that it will not be matter of ſurpriſe which-ever ſhould obtain the A.U. 708.

And many a thorny path her ſons muſt preſs,
Ere the glad ſummit ſhall their labours bleſs.
There joys ſerene to arduous toils ſucceed,
And peace eternal is the victor's meed.

A.U. 708. victory [1]. In the mean time, the world is every day more and more perſuaded, that altho' there may be ſome little difference in the cauſe of the contending parties, there will be ſcarce any in the conſequence of their ſucceſs. As to one of them, we have already in ſome ſort experienced their diſpoſition [2]; and as to the other, we are all of us ſufficiently ſenſible how much is to be dreaded from an incenſed conqueror [3].

If by what I have here ſaid, I may ſeem to increaſe that grief which I ſhould endeavour to alleviate; I muſt confeſs that I know but one reflection capable of ſupporting us under theſe public misfortunes. It is a reflection however, of ſovereign efficacy, where it can be applied in its full force: and of which I every day more and more experience the ſingular advantage. It is indeed the greateſt conſolation under adverſity, to be conſcious of having always meant well;

[1] This letter was probably written very early in the preſent year: as it was on the 17th of March that the two armies came to a general engagement. This deciſive battle was fought under the walls of Munda: a city which ſtill ſubſiſts in the province of Granada. Cæſar obtained a complete victory: but it was diſputed by the Pompeians with ſo much courage and obſtinacy, that it was long doubtful on which ſide the advantage would turn; or as Florus moſt elegantly expreſſes it, *ut plane videretur neſcio quid deliberare Fortuna. Hirt. de Bel. Hiſp.* 31. *Flor.* iv. 2.

[2] The Cæſarean party.

[3] Young Pompey: who if he had ſucceeded, would undoubtedly have acted with great ſeverity towards Cicero, and the reſt of thoſe who had deſerted the cauſe of his father.

and

and to be perſuaded that nothing but guilt de- A.U. 708.
ſerves to be conſidered as a ſevere evil. But as you and I are ſo far from having any thing to reproach ourſelves with, that we have the ſatisfaction to reflect that we have ever acted upon the moſt patriot-principles; as it is not our meaſures, but the ill ſucceſs of thoſe meaſures, which the world regrets; in a word, as we have faithfully diſcharged that duty we owed to our country; let us bear the event with calmneſs and moderation. But I pretend not to teach you how to ſupport theſe our common calamities. It is a leſſon which requires much greater abilities than mine to inculcate, as well as the moſt ſingular fortitude of ſoul to practiſe. There is one point however in which any man is qualified to be your inſtructor: as it is eaſy to ſhew that you have no reaſon to be particularly afflicted. For with reſpect to Cæſar, tho' he has appeared ſomewhat more ſlow in granting you a pardon than was generally imagined; yet I have not the leaſt doubt of his conſenting to your reſtoration: and as to the other party[5]; you perfectly well know how your intereſt ſtands with them, without my telling you. Your only remaining diſquietude then, muſt ariſe from being thus long ſeparated from your family: and it is a circumſtance, I

[5] The Pompeians.

A.U. 708. confeſs, that juſtly merits your concern; eſpecially as you are by this mean deprived of the company of thoſe moſt amiable youths, your ſons. But, as I obſerved in a former [6] letter, it is natural for every man in theſe unhappy times to look upon his own condition as of all others the moſt miſerable; and to deem that place the leaſt eligible in which it is his fortune to be ſituated. For my own part indeed, I think that we who live at Rome are moſt to be lamented: not only as in misfortunes of every kind, a ſpectator muſt be more ſenſibly affected than he who is acquainted with them merely by report; but as we are more expoſed to the danger of ſudden violences, than thoſe who are placed at a greater diſtance.

Yet after all my endeavours to reaſon you out of *your* diſquietudes; I cannot but acknowledge, that I am more obliged to time, than to that philoſophy which I have ever cultivated, for the mitigation of my own: and how great they once were, you perfectly well know. But in the firſt place, I have the conſolation to reflect, that when I was ſo deſirous of peace, as to think even a bad one preferable to a civil war; I ſaw farther into conſequences than ſome of my countrymen. And altho' I do not pretend to a ſpirit of divination, and it was chance alone that verified my predictions,

[6] The firſt letter of this book.

yet

yet I will own that I take great ſatisfaction in the A.U. 708.
empty honour of my fruitleſs penetration. In the next place, I have the conſolation in common with yourſelf, that ſhould I now be called upon to lay down my life, I ſhall not be cut off from a commonwealth, which I can by any means regret to leave: eſpecially as the ſame blow that deprives me of my life will deprive me likewiſe of all ſenſibility [7]. Beſides, I am already arrived at a fullneſs of years [8]: and as I can look back with entire ſatisfaction on the courſe I have completed; ſo I have nothing to fear from any violence which may be offered to me; ſince nature herſelf has now well-nigh conducted my days to their final period. In a word, when I reflect upon that great man [9], or rather indeed, upon thoſe many illuſtrious perſonages who periſhed in this war; it would ſeem a want of modeſty to regret ſubmitting to the ſame fate, whenever I ſhall find it neceſſary. The truth is, I repreſent to myſelf all that can poſſibly happen to me: as indeed there is no calamity ſo ſevere which I do not look upon as actually impending. However, ſince to live in perpetual fear is a greater evil than any we can dread; I check myſelf in theſe

[7] See rem. 6. p. 232. of this vol.
[8] Cicero was at this time in his 61ſt year.
[9] Pompey.

reflec-

A.U. 708. reflections: eſpecially as I am approaching to that ſtate which is not only unattended with any pain in itſelf, but which will put an end to all painful ſenſations for ever. But I have dwelt longer upon this ſubject, perhaps, than was neceſſary. However, if I run out my letters to an unreaſonable extent, you muſt not impute it to impertinence, but affection.

I am ſorry to hear that Sulpicius has left Athens [10]: as I am perſuaded that the daily company and converſation of ſo wiſe and valuable a friend, afforded you great relief under your afflictions. But I hope you will continue to bear them as becomes you, and ſupport yourſelf with your uſual fortitude. In the mean time, be aſſured I ſhall promote with the utmoſt zeal and care whatever I ſhall think agreeable to the intereſt or inclination either of you or yours. And in this I can only imitate you in your diſpoſition to ſerve me, without being able to return your generous offices in the ſame efficacious manner. Farewel.

[10] In order, probably, to return to Rome upon the expiration of his government.

LET-

LETTER XVII.

To CAIUS CASSIUS.

I Should not ſend you ſo ſhort a letter, if your courier had not called for it juſt as he was ſetting out. But I have ſtill another reaſon: for I have nothing to write to you in the way of pleaſantry; and ſerious affairs are topics, in which it is not altogether ſafe to engage. You will therefore wonder perhaps that I ſhould be in any humour to be jocoſe: and indeed it is no very eaſy matter. However, it is the only expedient left to divert our uneaſy thoughts. But where then, you will probably aſk, is our philoſophy? Why yours, my friend, is in the [1] kitchen, I ſuppoſe: and as to mine, it is much too troubleſome a gueſt to gain admittance. The fact is, I am heartily aſhamed of being a ſlave: and therefore that I may not hear the ſevere reproaches of Plato, I endeavour to turn my attention another way. A.U. 708.

We have hitherto received no certain intelligence from Spain.—I rejoice upon your account that you are abſent from this unpleaſing ſcene;

[1] This is a raillery upon the tenets of Caſſius, who held the doctrines of the Epicurean ſect.

tho'

A.U. 708. tho' I greatly regret it upon my own. But your courier preſſes me to diſpatch: ſo that I can only bid you adieu, and intreat the continuance of that friendſhip you have ever ſhewn me from your earlieſt youth.

LETTER XVIII.

TO DOLABELLA[2].

I Would not venture to omit writing to you by our friend Salvius; tho' I have nothing more to ſay than what you perfectly well know already, that I infinitely love you[3]. I have much more reaſon indeed to expect a letter from you, than you can have to receive one from me; as I imagine there is nothing going forwards in Rome, which you will think of importance enough to raiſe your curioſity; unleſs perhaps, that I am to ſit in judgment between two learned grammarians; our friend Nicias, and his antagoniſt Vidius. The latter, you muſt know, has produced a certain *manuſcript*, relating to an

[2] He was at this time with Cæſar in Spain.

[3] Whatever diſagreement there was between Dolabella and Tullia, it did not, in appearance at leaſt, occaſion any coolneſs between him and his father-in-law: a circumſtance which, conſidering the tenderneſs of Cicero for his daughter, can only be accounted for by Dolabella's great credit with Cæſar.

account

account between them: to which Nicias, like a second Ariſtarchus [4], very peremptorily inſiſts that ſome of the *lines* are altogether *ſpurious*. Now I, like a venerable antient critic, am to determine whether theſe ſuſpected *interpolations* are *genuine*, or not. But you will queſtion, perhaps, whether I have ſufficiently forgotten the delicious muſhrooms and thoſe noble prawns [5] with which I have been ſo often regaled by Nicias and his gentle ſpouſe, to be qualified for an impartial judge in this important cauſe. Let me aſk you in return, whether you imagine I have ſo entirely thrown off all my former ſeverity, as to retain nothing of my old ſolemnity of brow, even when I am ſitting in grave tribunal? You may be ſure, however, that my honeſt hoſt ſhall be no great ſufferer. Tho' let me tell you, if I ſhould paſs ſentence of baniſhment upon him, I ſhall by no means allow you to reverſe it, leſt Burſa ſhould be ſupplied with a pedagogue to teach him his letters [6].—But I am running on in this ludicrous A.U. 708.

[4] A celebrated Greek critic. See rem. 7. p. 29. of this vol.

[5] In the original it is, *Culinarum*: which conveys no ſenſe, or at leaſt a very forced one. The reading therefore propoſed by Gronovius, is adopted in the tranſlation; who imagines the true word was *Squillarum*. For prawns was a fiſh in great repute amongſt the Roman epicures.

[6] Burſa was a particular enemy of Cicero, and had been baniſhed for his riotous attempts to revenge the murder of Clodius: from which baniſhment he was lately recalled. See rem. 5. p. 263. vol. 1.

A.U. 708. ſtyle, without reflecting that you, who are in the midſt of a campaign, may, perhaps, be too ſeriouſly engaged to reliſh theſe humorous ſallies. When I ſhall be certain therefore, that you are in a diſpoſition to laugh, you ſhall hear farther from me. I cannot however forbear adding, that the people were extremely ſollicitous concerning the fate of Sulla [7], till the news of his death was confirmed: but now that they are aſſured of the fact, they are no longer inquiſitive how it happened; well contented with their intelligence that he is undoubtedly defunct. As for myſelf, I bear this *deplorable* accident like a philoſopher: my only concern is, leſt it ſhould damp the ſpirit of Cæſar's auctions [8]. Farewel.

[7] This man had rendered himſelf extremely and generally odious by the purchaſes he had made of the confiſcated eſtates, during the proſcriptions both of Sylla and Cæſar. *Cic. de Offic.* ii. 8.

[8] In which the confiſcated eſtates were put up to ſale. One of the methods that Cæſar took to reward his partiſans, was by ſuffering them to purchaſe theſe eſtates at an under value: and it was the hopes of being a ſharer in theſe iniquitous ſpoils, that furniſhed one of the principal incentives to the civil war. *Cic. ubi ſup.*

LET-

LETTER XIX.

To Aulus Torquatus.

I Hope you will not imagine that you have been out of my thoughts, by my having lately been a more remiſs correſpondent than uſual. The true occaſion of my ſilence has partly ariſen from an ill ſtate of health, which, however, is now ſomewhat mended; and partly has been owing to my abſence from Rome, which prevented me from being informed when any courier was diſpatched to you. Be aſſured that I conſtantly and moſt affectionately preſerve you in my remembrance; and that your affairs of every kind are as much my concern as if they were my own. A.U. 708.

Believe me, you have no reaſon, conſidering the unhappy ſituation of public affairs, to be uneaſy that yours ſtill remain in a more dubious and unſettled poſture than was generally hoped and imagined. For one of theſe three events muſt neceſſarily take place: either we ſhall never ſee an end of our civil wars; or they will one day ſubſide, and give the republic an opportunity of recovering its vigour; or they will terminate in its utter extinction. If the ſword is never to be ſheathed, you can have nothing to fear either from

A.U. 708. from the party which you formerly aſſiſted, or from that by which you have lately been received [9]. But ſhould the republic again revive, either by the contending factions mutually agreeing to a ceſſation of arms; or by their laying them down in mere laſſitude; or by one ſide being vanquiſhed; you will undoubtedly be again reſtored both to your rank and to your fortunes. And ſhould our conſtitution be totally deſtroyed, agreeably to what the wiſe Marcus Antonius [1] long ſince apprehended, when he imagined that the preſent calamities were even then approaching; you will have the conſolation at leaſt to reflect, that a misfortune which is common to

[9] Torquatus was now in Italy; having obtained the permiſſion of returning, by means of Dolabella, with whom Cicero had employed his good offices for that purpoſe: as appears by ſeveral paſſages which Manutius has produced from the letters to Atticus. But whether Torquatus afterwards procured a full pardon from Cæſar and was reſtored to his eſtate and honours, is uncertain: all that is farther known of him, is, that he was in the army of Brutus and Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, and in the number of thoſe whom Atticus generouſly aſſiſted in their diſtreſs after the event of that unfortunate action. *Ad At.* xiii. 9. 20, 21. *Corn. Nep. in vit. At.* ii.

[1] This eloquent and illuſtrious patriot, the grandfather of Mark Antony, was conſul in the year 653: and about 12 years afterwards was put to death by the command of Marius, whoſe party he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. Marius was at dinner when the executioner of his cruel orders brought him the head of Antonius: which that ſanguinary Roman received into his hands, with all the inſolent and horrid exultation of the moſt ſavage barbarian. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Appian. Bel. Civil.* i. 344. *Val. Max.* ix. 2.

all,

all, cannot be lamented as peculiar to any: and miſerable as this conſolation muſt prove to a man of your patriot virtues; 'tis a conſolation however, to which we muſt neceſſarily have recourſe. A.U. 708.

If you well conſider the full force of theſe few hints, (and I do not think it prudent to be more explicit in a letter) you muſt be convinced without my telling you, that you have ſomething to hope, and nothing to fear, ſo long as the republic ſhall ſubſiſt, either in its preſent, or any other form. But ſhould it be intirely ſubverted; as I am ſure you would not, if you were permitted, ſurvive its ruin; ſo I am perſuaded you will patiently ſubmit to your fate, in the conſcious ſatisfaction of having in no ſort deſerved it. But I forbear to enter farther into this ſubject; and will only add my requeſt, that you would inform me how it is with you, and where you propoſe to fix your quarters: that I may know where a letter, or a viſit, will find you. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

To Caius Cassius.

A.U. 708. SUrely, my friend, your couriers are a ſet of moſt unconſcionable fellows. Not that they have given me any particular offence: but as they never bring me a letter when they arrive here, is it fair they ſhould always preſs me for one when they return? It would be more convenient however, if they would give me earlier notice, and not make their demands in the very inſtant they are ſetting out. You muſt excuſe me therefore (if an excuſe I can want, who am ſo much more punctual a correſpondent than yourſelf) ſhould this letter prove no longer than my laſt; as you may be aſſured of receiving an ample detail of every thing in my next. But that my preſent epiſtle may not be wholly barren of news, I muſt inform you that Publius Sulla [a], the father, is dead. The occaſion of this accident is variouſly reported: ſome ſay he was a martyr to his palate; and others, that he was murdered by high-way men. The people, however, are perfectly indifferent as to the manner, ſince they are quite clear as to the fact: for certain it is, that

[a] See rem. 7. on let. 18. of this book.

the

the flames of his funeral pile have conſumed him to aſhes. And what tho' liberty herſelf, alas! periſhed with this paragon of patriots; you will bear the loſs of him, I gueſs, with much philoſophy. But Cæſar, 'tis thought, will be a real mourner, in the apprehenſion that his auctions will not now proceed ſo currently as uſual. On the other hand, this event affords high ſatisfaction to Mindius Marcellus, and the effenced Attius, who rejoice exceedingly in having thus gotten quit of a formidable antagoniſt. A.U. 708.

We are in great expectation of the news from Spain, having as yet received no certain intelligence from that quarter. Some flying reports indeed have been ſpread, that things do not go well there: but they are reports without authority.

Our friend Panſa ſet out for his government [3] on the 30th of December. The circumſtances that attended his departure afforded a very ſtrong proof that "virtue is eligible upon its own ac-"count:" a truth which you have lately, it ſeems, begun to doubt [4]. The ſingular humanity with which he has relieved ſuch numbers in theſe times of public diſtreſs, drew after him, in a

[3] Of Gaul: in which he ſucceeded Marcus Brutus.
[4] As having lately embraced the Epicurean principles. See the following letter.

A. U. 708. very distinguished manner, the general good wishes of every honest man.

I am extremely glad to find that you are still at Brundisium: and I much approve of your continuing there. You cannot be governed by a more judicious maxim, than to sit loose to the vain ambition of the world; and it will be a great satisfaction to all your friends to hear that you persevere in this prudent inactivity. In the mean time I hope you will not forget me, when you send any letters to your family: as on my own part, whenever I hear of any person that is going to you, I shall not fail to take the opportunity of writing. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

To the Same.

WILL you not blush when I remind you, that this is the third letter I have written without having received a single line in return? However, I do not press you to be more expeditious: as I hope, and indeed insist, that you will make me amends for this delay, by the length of your next epistle. As for myself, if I had the opportunity of conveying my letters as frequently as I wish, I should write to you, I believe, every hour: for as often as I em-

employ my pen in this manner, you ſeem, as it were, actually preſent to my view. This effect is by no means produced, let me tell you, by thoſe ſubtle images which your new [5] friends talk ſo much of: who ſuppoſe that even the ideas of imagination are excited by what the late Catius, with wonderous elegancy, has ſtiled *ſpecters*. For by this curious word [6], you muſt know, he has expreſſed what Epicurus, who borrowed the notion from [7] Democritus, has called *images*. But granting that theſe ſame *ſpecters* are capable of affecting the organ of viſion; yet I cannot gueſs which way they can contrive to make their entrance into the mind. But you will A.U. 708.

[5] The Epicureans: to whoſe ſyſtem of philoſophy Caſſius had lately become a convert. Accordingly Cicero rallies him in this and the following paſſages, on their abſurd doctrine concerning ideas: which they maintained were excited by certain thin forms, or images, perpetually floating in the air. Theſe images were ſuppoſed to be conſtantly emitted from all objects, and to be of ſo delicate and ſubtle a texture as eaſily to penetrate thro' the pores of the body, and by that means render themſelves viſible to the mind. *Lucret.* iv. 726, &c.

[6] It is probable that Catius either coined this word himſelf, or employed it in a new and improper manner. For it is obſervable, that both Lucretius and Cicero whenever they have occaſion to expreſs in their own language what the Greek Epicureans called εἴδωλα, always render it by the word *ſimulachra* or *imagines*.

[7] He was a native of Abdera, a city in Thrace, and flouriſhed about 400 years before the Chriſtian æra. Epicurus, who was born about 40 years afterwards, borrowed much of his doctrine from the writings of this philoſopher. *Cic. de Fin.* i. 6.

A. U. 708. ſolve this difficulty when we meet, and tell me by what means, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to think of you, I may be able to call up your *ſpecter*: and not only yours, whoſe image indeed is already ſo deeply ſtamped upon my heart, but even that of the whole Britiſh iſland, for inſtance, if I ſhould be inclined to make it the ſubject of my meditations.—But more of this another time. In the mean while, I ſend this as an experiment to try with what temper you can bear my raillerries. Should they ſeem to touch you, I ſhall renew my attack with ſo much the more vigour, and will apply for a writ of *reſtitution* to reinſtate you in your old tenets: "of which you, the ſaid "Caſſius, have by force and arms [8] been diſpoſ- "ſeſſed." Length of poſſeſſion, in this caſe, will be no plea in bar: for whether the time be more or leſs ſince you have been driven by the allurements of pleaſure from the manſions of virtue, my action will be ſtill maintainable. But let me

[8] Theſe were the formal words of the prætor's edict, commanding the reſtoration of a perſon to an eſtate, of which he had been forcibly diſpoſſeſſed. Cicero, perhaps, beſides the humour of their general application, meant likewiſe archly to intimate that Caſſius had been driven out of his more rigid principles by his military companions: as in a letter written to Trebatius when he was making a campaign with Cæſar in Gaul, where our author is rallying him upon a ſimilar occaſion, he inſinuates that he had acquired his Epicuriſm in the camp. *Indicavit mihi Panſa*, ſays he, *Epicureum te eſſe factum. O caſtra præclara! Epiſt. Fam.* vii. 12.

not forget whom it is that I am thus bantering: A.U. 708.
Is it not that illuſtrious friend, whoſe every ſtep from his firſt entrance into the world has been conducted by the higheſt honour and virtue? If it be true then that you have embraced the Epicurean principles, I doubt they have more ſtrength and ſolidity in them than I once imagined.

And now, will you not be inclined to aſk how I could poſſibly think of amuſing you in this idle manner? The truth of it is, I am not furniſhed with a more important ſubject, as I have nothing to write to you concerning public affairs; nor indeed do I chuſe to truſt my ſentiments of them in a letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

Cassius to Cicero.

NOthing affords me a greater pleaſure in my travels, than to converſe with my friend. It brings you, indeed, ſo ſtrongly to my mind, that I fancy myſelf indulging a vein of pleaſantry with you in perſon. This lively impreſſion however, is by no means produced by thoſe Catian *ſpectres* you mention [9]: and for which piece

[9] In the preceding letter. See rem. 5 and 6. thereon.

A.U.708. of raillery I intend to draw up in my next ſuch a liſt of inelegant Stoics, as will force you to acknowledge that Catius in compariſon with theſe, may well paſs for a native of the refined Athens.

It gives me much ſatisfaction, not only upon our friend Panſa's account, but for the ſake of every one of us, that he received ſuch marks of public eſteem when he ſet out for his government [1]. I hope this circumſtance will be thought a convincing proof how amiable a ſpirit of probity and benevolence, and how odious the contrary diſpoſition, renders its poſſeſſor: and that the world will learn from hence, that theſe popular honours, which are ſo paſſionately courted by bad citizens, are the ſure attendants on thoſe whoſe characters are the reverſe. To perſuade mankind that virtue is its own reward, is a taſk, I fear, of too much difficulty: but that real and undiſturbed pleaſures neceſſarily flow from probity, juſtice, and whatever elſe is fair and beautiful in moral actions, is a truth, ſurely, of moſt eaſy admiſſion. Epicurus himſelf, from whom the Catii, and the Amafinii, together with the reſt of thoſe injurious interpreters of his meaning pretend to derive their tenets, expreſly declares, that "a "pleaſurable life can alone be procured by the

[1] See rem. 3 on letter 20. of this Book.

"practice

"practice of virtue." Accordingly Panſa, who A.U. 708.
purſues pleaſure agreeably to this juſt notion of it, ſtill perſeveres, you ſee, in a virtuous conduct. The truth is, thoſe whom your ſect has ſtigmatized by the name of *voluptuaries*, are warm admirers of moral beauty; and conſequently cultivate and practiſe the whole train of ſocial duties. But commend me to the judicious Sulla: who obſerving that the philoſophers were divided in their opinions concerning the ſupreme good, left them to ſettle the queſtion among themſelves, whilſt he turned his views to a leſs controverted acquiſition, by purchaſing every good thing that was put up to ſale [2]. I received the news of his death with much fortitude: and indeed Cæſar will take care that we ſhall not long have occaſion to regret his loſs; as there are numbers of equal merit whom he can *reſtore* to us [3] in his place. Nor will Cæſar himſelf, I ſuppoſe, much lament this excellent cuſtomer of his, when he ſhall ſee what a worthy ſon he has left to ſucceed him.

But to turn to public affairs; let me know what is doing in Spain. It is a point indeed up-

[2] See rem. 7. on let. 18. of this Book.

[3] This alludes to the great number of thoſe whom Cæſar, as ſoon as he got the power into his hands, had permitted to return from the baniſhment to which they had for various crimes been condemned.

on

A.U. 708. on which I am extremely ſollicitous: as I had much rather ſubmit to an old maſter whoſe clemency I have experienced, than run the hazard of being expoſed to the cruelty of a new one. You know the weakneſs of young Pompey's intellects; that he looks upon cruelty as heroiſm; and that he is ſenſible how much he has ever been the object of our ridicule. I fear therefore he would be apt to treat us ſomewhat roughly, and return our jokes with the point of his ſword. If you have any value for me then, you will not fail to let me know whatever ſhall happen. Ah, my friend, how do I wiſh I were appriſed whether you read this with an eaſy or an anxious mind! for by that ſingle circumſtance I ſhould be determined, what meaſures are proper for me to purſue. But not to detain you any longer, I will only intreat you to continue your friendſhip to me, and then bid you farewel.

P. S.

If Cæſar ſhould prove victorious, you may expect to ſee me very ſoon.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

To DOLABELLA.

CAius Suberinus, a native of [4] Calenum, is one with whom I am particularly united: and he is extremely ſo likewiſe with our very intimate friend Lepta. This perſon, in order to avoid being engaged in our inteſtine commotions, attended Marcus Varro into Spain [5], before the civil war broke out: imagining, as indeed every body elſe did, that after the defeat of Afranius [6], there would be no farther diſturbances in that province. However, he was by that very meaſure, involved in thoſe misfortunes he had taken ſo much pains to eſcape. For the ſudden inſurrection which was formed by Scapula, and afterwards raiſed to ſo formidable an height by young Pompey, forced him unwillingly to take a part in that unhappy enterpriſe. The caſe of Marcus Planius likewiſe, who is alſo in the number of Lepta's particular friends, is much the ſame with that of Suberinus. In compliance with A.U. 708.

[4] A city of Campania, in the kingdom of Naples.

[5] See rem. 6. p. 213. of this vol.

[6] He was one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, in the year 704. in conjunction with Varro and Petreius. Cæſar's victory over theſe generals has already been occaſionally mentioned in the preceding remarks.

my

A.U. 708. my friendſhip therefore for theſe two perſons, and in compaſſion to their misfortunes, I recommend them with all poſſible warmth and earneſtneſs to your favour. But I have ſtill another motive which engages me in their cauſe: Lepta intereſts himſelf no leſs ardently in their welfare, than if his own were at ſtake; and I cannot but feel the next, I might have ſaid an equal, degree of ſollicitude, where my friend is ſo anxiouſly concerned. Accordingly, tho' I have often had occaſion to experience your affection; yet, believe me, I ſhall principally judge of its ſtrength by your compliance with my preſent requeſt. I deſire therefore, or, if you will ſuffer me to employ ſo humble a phraſe, I even beſeech you, to afford your protection to theſe unhappy men, whoſe diſtreſs ariſes rather from unavoidable fortune, than from any thing blame-worthy in their own conduct. I hope that by your good offices in this affair, you will give me an opportunity of obliging, not only theſe my friends, but the corporation of Calenum likewiſe, with which I have great connections: but above all, that you will by theſe means, put it in my power to render a grateful ſervice alſo to Lepta. What I am going to add, is not extremely material, I believe, to the cauſe I am pleading: however it certainly can do no prejudice. Let me aſſure you then, that

one

one of theſe unfortunate perſons is in very low circumſtances, and the other has ſcarcely ſufficient to entitle him to be admitted into the equeſtrian order [7]. As Cæſar therefore has generouſly ſpared their lives, and they have little elſe to loſe, I intreat you by all your affection towards me, to procure them the liberty of returning into Italy. The journey indeed is long: however they are willing to undergo it, for the ſake of living and dying among their friends and countrymen. I moſt earneſtly requeſt therefore your zealous endeavours for this purpoſe: or rather indeed (ſince I am perſuaded it is entirely in your power) I warmly intreat you to obtain for them this deſirable privilege. Farewel. A.U. 708.

[7] The eſtate neceſſary to qualify a man for being received into the equeſtrian order was four hundred thouſand ſeſterces: equivalent to about 3000 l. ſterling. Cicero artfully mentions the ſlender fortunes of his friends, as an intimation to Dolabella not to expect any *douceurs* for his good offices towards them.

LET-

LETTER XXIV.

To CÆSAR.

A.U. 708. I Very particularly recommend to your favour the ſon of our worthy and common friend Præcilius: a youth whoſe modeſt and polite behaviour, together with his ſingular attachment to myſelf, have exceedingly endeared him to me. His father likewiſe, as experience has now fully convinced me, was always my moſt ſincere well-wiſher. For to confeſs the truth, he was the firſt and moſt zealous of thoſe who uſed both to rally and reproach me for not joining in your cauſe: eſpecially after you had invited me by ſo many honourable overtures. But,

All unavailing prov'd his every art,
To ſhake the purpoſe of my ſtedfaſt heart [8].

For whilſt the gallant chiefs of our party were on the other ſide, perpetually exclaiming to me,

" *Riſe thou, diſtinguiſh'd 'midſt the ſons of fame,*
" *And fair tranſmit to times unborn thy name* [9];"
Too eaſy dupe of flattery's ſpecious voice,
Darkling I ſtray'd from wiſdom's better choice [10].

[8] Hom. Odyſſ. vii. 258.
[9] Hom. Odyſſ. i. 302.
[10] Hom. Odyſſ. xxiv. 314.

And

And fain would they ſtill raiſe my ſpirits, while they endeavour, inſenſible as I now am to the charms of glory, to re-kindle that paſſion in my heart. With this view they are ever repeating, A.U. 708.

O let me not inglorious ſink in death,
And yield like vulgar ſouls my parting breath:
In ſome brave effort give me to expire,
That diſtant ages may the deed admire[1]*!*

But I am immoveable, as you ſee, by all their perſuaſions. Renouncing therefore the pompous heroics of Homer, I turn to the juſt maxims of Euripides, and ſay with that poet,

Curſe on the ſage, who impotently wiſe,
O'erlooks the paths where humbler prudence lies.

My old friend Præcilius is a great admirer of the ſentiment in theſe lines; inſiſting, that a patriot may preſerve a prudential regard to his own ſafety, and yet,

Above his peers the firſt in honour ſhine[2].

But to return from this digreſſion: you will greatly oblige me by extending to this young man that uncommon generoſity which ſo peculiarly marks your character; and by ſuffering my recommendation to increaſe the number of thoſe favours which I am perſuaded you are diſpoſed to confer upon him for the ſake of his family.

[1] Hom. Il. xxii.
[2] Hom. Il. vi. 208.

I have

A.U. 708. I have not addreſſed you in the uſual ſtyle of recommendatory letters, that you might ſee I did not intend this as an application of common form. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

To the Same.

AMongſt all our young nobility, Publius Craſſus [1] was one for whom I entertained the higheſt regard: and indeed he amply juſtified in his more mature years, the favourable opinion I had conceived of him from his infancy. It was during his life that his freedman Apollonius firſt recommended himſelf to my eſteem. For he was zealouſly attached to the intereſt of his patron, and perfectly well qualified to aſſiſt him in thoſe noble ſtudies to which he was devoted: Accordingly Craſſus was extremely fond of him. But Apollonius after the death of his patron, proved himſelf ſtill more worthy of my protection and friendſhip: as he diſtinguiſhed with peculiar marks of reſpect, all who loved Craſſus, or had been beloved by him. It was this that induced Apollonius to follow me into

[1] See rem. 3. p. 132. vol. i.

Cicilia:

Cicilia: where, upon many occaſions, I received A.U. 708.
ſingular advantage from his faithful and judicious ſervices. If I miſtake not, his moſt ſincere and zealous offices were not wanting to you likewiſe in the Alexandrine war, and it is in the hope of your thinking ſo, that he has reſolved in concurrence with my ſentiments, but chiefly indeed from his own, to wait upon you in Spain. I would not promiſe however, to recommend him to your favour. Not that I ſuſpected my applications would be void of weight: but I thought they would be unneceſſary in behalf of a man who had ſerved in the army under you, and whom, from your regard to the memory of Craſſus, you would undoubtedly conſider as a friend of your own. Beſides, I knew he could eaſily procure letters of this kind from many other hands. But as he greatly values my good opinion, and as I am ſenſible it has ſome influence upon yours; I very willingly give him my teſtimonial. Let me aſſure you then, that I know him to be a man of literature, and one who has applied himſelf to the polite arts from his earlieſt youth. For when he was a boy he frequently viſited at my houſe with Diodotus the Stoic: a philoſopher, in my judgment, of conſummate erudition. Apollonius, inflamed with zeal for the glory of your actions, is greatly deſirous of recording them in

A.U. 708. greek: and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He has an excellent genius, and has been particularly converſant in ſtudies of the hiſtorical kind: as he is wonderfully ambitious likewiſe of doing juſtice to your immortal fame. Theſe are my ſincere ſentiments of the man: but how far he deſerves them, your own ſuperior judgment will beſt determine. But tho' I told Apollonius that I ſhould not particularly recommend him to your favour; yet I cannot forbear aſſuring you, that every inſtance of your generoſity towards him, will extremely oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

QUINTUS CICERO, to MARCUS CICERO [4].

I Proteſt to you, my dear brother, you have performed an act extremely agreeable to me in giving Tiro his freedom: as a ſtate of ſervitude was a ſituation far unworthy of his merit. Believe me, I felt the higheſt complacency, when I found by his letter and yours, that you rather choſe we ſhould look upon him in the number of our friends, than in that of our ſlaves: and I both congratulate and thank you for this inſtance

[4] The date of this letter is altogether uncertain.

of your generoſity towards him. If I receive ſo much ſatisfaction from the ſervices of my freedman Statius: how much more valuable muſt the ſame good qualities appear in Tiro, as they have the additional advantages of his learning, his wit and his politeneſs to recommend them? I have many powerful motives for the affection I bear you: and this mark of your beneficence to Tiro, together with your giving me part (as indeed you had reaſon) in the family-joy upon this occaſion, ſtill increaſes the number. In a word, I ſaw and admired all the amiable qualities of your heart, in the letter you wrote to me on this ſubject. A.U. 702.

I have promiſed my beſt ſervices to the ſlaves of Sabinus: and it is a promiſe I will moſt aſſuredly make good. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

To REX[5].

LIcinius Ariſtoteles, a native of Melita[6], is not only my old hoſt, but my very particular friend. Theſe are circumſtances, I doubt not, that will ſufficiently recommend him to your favour: as in truth I have experienced by many

[5] He was at this time proprætor of Sicily. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 459.

[6] The iſland of Malta.

A.U. 708. inſtances, that my applications of this ſort have always much weight with you. Cæſar, in compliance with my ſollicitations, has granted him a pardon: for I ſhould have told you, that he was deeply engaged in the ſame cauſe with myſelf. He perſevered in it indeed much longer: which I am perſuaded will recommend him ſo much the more to your eſteem. Let me intreat you then, to ſhew him by your good offices, that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

AN

AN INDEX,

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